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Religious teaching, legal background help ombudsman's approach



The tale of a 26-year-old former drug addict is all part of the day's work for Johann Baptist Rösler, ombudsman of the Rhineland-Palatinate.

The young man seemed to have succeeded in kicking the habit. After long-term therapy he took school-leaving exams at night school and attended a course as a photo laboratory assistant.

He was due to start a full-time course at a printing college when the law caught up with him. He was sentenced to 25 months in prison for drug offences dating back to 1976.

This looked like it. He ran a risk of reverting to drugs as the only way out of his dilemma. He was scared stiff of the stigma that threatened to ruin his life again.

So he wrote to Herr Rösler, the "citizens' representative" or ombudsman of the Rhineland-Palatinate. This is what the ombudsman's annual report was later to say about the case:

"His petition led to the sentence being converted by way of clemency into a suspended sentence accompanied by four years' strict probation."

This is a typical case for Rösler rather than for the ombudsman. Rösler enjoys the authority by virtue of his name and career; the ombudsman is a relative newcomer with strictly limited powers.

Strictly speaking they don't entitle him to bring influence to bear on the courts, but Herr Rösler is more for the spirit than for the letter of the law.

This is probably what has enabled him to breathe life into his job and help others to go further than they otherwise might in a bid to do the right thing by an aggrieved member of the public.

"Dissatisfaction with the state," he says, "is first and foremost dissatisfaction with bureaucracy." His own dissatisfaction with red tape has made many a bureaucrat tremble.

Rösler, 58, is a lawyer by training. He began his career as a teacher of religious affairs at a Bingen trades college and is a Christian Democrat.

He served as a CDU member of the state assembly from 1955 to 1974 and was Speaker of the assembly from 1971. No-one can pull the wool over his eyes. He knows his way around.

His rights are limited, as is his field of activity at the point where Parliament, administration and the public meet. Formally he is attached to the state assembly's petitions committee. It is not a politically controversial appointment.

Yet his appointment was met with scepticism five years ago. Rösler, however, has the facts at his fingertips and can prove his point that more extensive rights for the petitions committee would not have had the same effect.

After five years as the country's first and so far only ombudsman, Herr Rösler can fairly claim that people would sooner apply to an individual than to a committee for help.

Letters come in from would-be home builders who fail to understand what the licensing authority has written them, from students who are unhappy with their grants, from foreign nationals who want to appeal against a deportation order, from widows in litigation with the local authority and from civic action groups protesting against roadbuilding plans.

Most cases he deals with are minor matters from the viewpoint of the authority that has failed to give the plaintiff satisfaction. From the individual's viewpoint they are a crucial clash with the powers that be.

Yet these "minor matters" are what determine the attitude of the general public towards the state. Instead of providing service, civil servants often rule with the aid of a plethora of rules and regulations.

Instead of providing a government service for the good of the public they tend to patronise the applicant as though the individual had no rights but were solely dependent on their good will.

People are embittered by encounters of this kind and others readily agree in conversation that the state is to blame, as the government of Rhineland-Palatinate realised when the post was first mooted.

The ombudsman is a "suitable therapy" by which to treat dissatisfaction with the state, Professor Rainer Pietzner of Speyer administrative college wrote in *Juristische Arbeitsblätter, 7/76.*

Therapist Rösler, with the salary and status of a state secretary, takes a similar view of his socio-psychological role:

"All being well, my work can lead to the agreeable solution the law requires to difficulties between the administration and the general public.

"I can also solve conflicts indirectly. I may be unable to help in many instances where people have doubts whether they have been fairly treated by the state, but I can explain the position and help to reduce mistrust."

What makes the ombudsman a better-known figure than the petitions committee is his regular surgery in Mainz and in various cities around the state.

Older and socially weaker people take the opportunity provided by his surgery to make contact without having to put pen to paper.

Spot checks have a twofold effect. The petitioner can see that the ombudsman is dealing with his complaint. So can the mayor. This is parliamentary control at village level.

Herr Rösler is entitled to use official channels to see what civil servants have been doing, but he prefers the unofficial approach.

He handles about 2,500 complaints a year but only in 7 or 8 cases does he use red tape to combat red tape. "Complaints and requests from the public must be given priority," he says.

Johann Baptist Rösler
(Photo: ...)

Over the past five years building mission procedures have given ri... most complaints. City-dwellers fi... understand why they must de... their country cottage even thoug... local mayor encouraged them t... ahead and build it.

A local authority builds roads, ... nage and other facilities without in... ing the owner of the land they co... house-owner has to make way for a ... Building permission leads to tr... with the neighbours.

Cases such as these are probed by R... sler and his overworked staff of th... lawyers, two senior civil servants ... three secretaries.

They prefer to overhear dissatisfac... and protest on the part of the au... ties they upset. What matters is th... nearly 4 out of 10 cases petitioners ... helped last year.

The ombudsman's job is to take a se... cond look at administrative decisions ... not just from the legal position but ... as to whether they serve the purpose.

If not, the authority concerned is ... quested to reconsider its decision. D... the ombudsman do a better job of ... task than the state assembly's petit... committee?

Drawbacks to petitions committee

In a comparative survey on behalf ... the Rhineland-Palatinate political ed... tion department Udo Kempf conclu... in 1976 that the petitions comm... was inefficient as it stood.

This was partly because it was st... by parliamentary newcomers keen ... make names for themselves and ... promotion to more prestigious com... tees.

They were also MPs with so ... other jobs to do that they were ... to devote sufficient time and atten... to their petitions committee work.

Kempf reckoned that in the long ... the ombudsman could well replace ... petitions committee entirely.

Rösler will hear nothing of such ... mises. "Collaboration with the peti... committee is important and good," ... says, although his annual report, ... much-read document, notes that p... tions are often held over for longer ... should really be the case.

He is a white-haired, stocky ... nearing 60 who is fond of wearing ... ties, and although he is a therapist, he ... still very much a politician.

Claudia Dillman...

(Die Zeit, 25 April 1...)



The German Tribune
Hamburg, 18 May 1980
Nineteenth Year - No. 941 - By air
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Hot-cold Soviet moods fail to isolate Bonn

Jubilees and anniversaries are nowhere held in higher esteem than in the communist world. Communist leaders are given to basking time and again in the reflected glory of great events (or at least, events that could have turned out worse).

Speeches are already being drafted in the Kremlin to mark the tenth anniversary on 12 August of the treaty with Bonn that set Bonn-Moscow ties on a new footing.

But Kremlin pen-pushers are finding it somewhat difficult to characterise Moscow's attitude towards Bonn, given that it has fluctuated continually over the past decade.

Valentin Falin, the former Soviet ambassador to Bonn, once said that ties between West Germany and the Soviet Union, while not as good as they might have been, were much better than one could have dared to hope before the 1970 treaty was signed.

Ties have indeed seemed to be as cordial as might be expected between a parliamentary democracy and an authoritarian, bureaucratic state, especially in view of the division of Germany.

At the end of last year, however, ties between Bonn and Moscow were transformed from a condition that could only be described as crashing boredom into one of fairly incalculable tension.

Bonn was subjected to decidedly bracing hot and cold showers, a succession of threats and inducements, in connection with Nato's decision to develop a new generation of medium-range missiles.

This December decision, reached by Nato leaders in Brussels, was a mere response to the alarming build-up of Soviet medium-range missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe.

The treatment Moscow turned on Bonn failed to have the required effect, however. West Germany remained a reliable member of the North Atlantic pact.

The Kremlin repeated the procedure after its invasion of Afghanistan. The Bonn government in general and the Chancellor in particular were one moment praised for being cool, calm and collected, only to be accused of incitement and adventurism likely to upset the peace the next.

First the Kremlin indicated it would be happy to welcome Chancellor Schmidt to Moscow this summer, then, a few weeks later, one of Moscow's propaganda media was guilty of a clear breach of the 1970 treaty.

Between the two Bonn had recommended its National Olympic Committee to boycott the Moscow Olympics, a move the Soviet leaders had sought to forestall till the last.

A few days later *Novosti*, the Soviet news agency, launched a ferocious propaganda attack on Bonn that has been the highlight of the Soviet war of nerves so far.

"The territory of the Federal Republic of Germany", the Soviet agency claimed, has according to the will of its leaders practically become a target for counter-attack in the event of conflict."

Even in the language of diplomatic restraint to which Bonn is officially given there can be no other description of this statement than an unbridled threat.

By the terms of Article Two of the 1970 treaty Bonn and Moscow undertook "to refrain from threatening or using violence on matters affecting security in Europe and international security, as also in mutual relations in keeping with Article Two of the UN Charter."

Moscow's stick-and-carrot tactics have failed to influence Bonn's decisions on either the Nato missile resolution or the Olympic boycott.

But they have not been entirely without effect. Below government level and outside it trends in recent weeks can hardly fail to have been to the Kremlin strategists' liking.

When the Moscow treaty was signed ten years ago there was a powerful groundswell in West Germany in favour of coming to terms with the Soviet Union and turning a new leaf on a note of confidence.

The current tenor is all too often one of despondency. A faint-hearted tendency towards appeasement, based partly on obvious self-interest by its advocates, partly on exaggerated anxiety, has taken over from the erstwhile utopian of a new historical perspective.

There can, of course, be no lamenting the abandonment of unrealistic expectations but the trend is by no means harmless. A strange mixture of faint-heartedness and dissatisfaction with the United States, both everywhere apparent, could wear out the vital realisation that when it comes to security our interests are inextricably interwoven with those of the United States.

At the same time a return to normal and stabilisation of ties between Bonn and Moscow are called for and seem sure to be based on a more sober appraisal.

It will be up to Chancellor Schmidt to lay the groundwork for this reappraisal on his forthcoming visit to Moscow.

Claus Preller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 May 1980)



East German leader Erich Honecker (left) and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt meet at Tito's funeral in Belgrade. Behind the Chancellor is Bonn spokesman Klaus Bölling.
(Photo: dpa)

Schmidt to go to Moscow, but date not yet fixed

Chancellor Schmidt has accepted the Soviet invitation to visit Moscow but has not decided when, Bonn Foreign Ministry state secretary Günter van Well has told Soviet ambassador Vladimir Semyonov.

Herr Schmidt, it is generally felt in Bonn, is most unlikely to visit the Soviet Union before the Venice international economic summit on 22 and 23 June.

Since he will hardly want to fly to Moscow on the eve of the Olympics in June it looks like the Chancellor will be travelling to the Soviet Union at the end of June or the beginning of July.

The Foreign Ministry was going to brief Bonn's Western allies on the talks between Herr van Well and Mr Semyonov as part of preparatory consultations within the Western alliance.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher agreed in an interview with *Bild-Zeitung*, the national popular daily with a circulation of more than 5m, that the Chancellor's visit must be thoroughly prepared "in coordination with the allies and in talks with the Soviet Union."

Asked whether Herr Schmidt might mediate between Washington and Moscow, he said: "No. A mediator would have to stand between the blocs, whereas we are part of the West and an active Nato member."

(Die Welt, 6 May 1980)

Jockeying for position at Tito's funeral

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Seldom has there been such worldwide unanimity on the merits of a man's life's work as in the obituary notices for President Tito of Yugoslavia.

Sorrow and dismay were voiced from San Francisco to Vladivostok and from Helsinki to Melbourne. It sounded as though Tito had ended his days without an enemy in the world.

Seldom, for that matter, has the demise of a major statesman been overlaid by so much political activity and speculation.

Hardly had the news of his long-expected death sped along the wires but people in the world's corridors of power started wondering who would attend his funeral.

The Chinese were first to react, announcing that Hua Guofeng, their No. 1, would be attending. It was, perhaps, no coincidence that China was so quick off the mark.

In 1977 Tito had visited China and restored ties between the two countries to a cordial footing. Moscow has since looked on bitterly and suspiciously as China and Yugoslavia have pursued a policy of close partnership and collaboration.

Chairman Hua's second visit to Belgrade was doubtless an astute signal to Tito's heirs that China is still on Yugoslavia's side, inasmuch as the geographical distance between them makes this possible.

The White House in Washington showed less sensitivity in openly reiterating its guarantees of Yugoslav security.

One wonders whether it might not

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Yugoslavia after Tito: will it learn to live without him?

All his life Tito dashed hopes others placed in him, disproving their forecasts so thoroughly that the pundits could hardly fail to be vexed.

Josip Broz, who was later to adopt the name Tito, was appointed leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party by Stalin on the eve of the Second World War.

Stalin thought he was obedient and would toe the Party line. He was right about Tito's Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy but wrong about his obedience.

Tito was appointed in Moscow to run the Yugoslav Communist Party on Stalin's behalf, but the moment he returned home he took power into his own hands.

He waged partisan war on Hitler to relieve the burden on the beleaguered Soviet Union, and a welcome relief it was for Stalin.

But he was even more determined to combine an uprising against the Germans and a civil war to transform Yugoslavia into a communist country.

This haste ran counter to Stalin's plans but Tito was undismayed, and when he achieved his target in 1945 he showed signs of even greater ambition.

Yugoslavia was to be even more soviet than the Soviet Union, also the leading power in a communist South-East Europe. But Stalin ruled that the communist world was to have no other god beside himself.

It is not true that Tito parted company with Stalin; it was the other way round. But Tito had no regrets and Stalin had never been so deceived in a seemingly obedient servant.

Yugoslavia was in a bad way, however. It had been bled to little short of death in the war and post-war struggle against "enemies" of all kinds. What is more, it must be afraid of an invasion from the east.

Western statesmen expected the leaking Yugoslav ship of state to head for a safe Western democratic haven with its last head of steam, but Tito had nothing less in mind.

He now wanted more than ever to make Yugoslavia truly communist as he understood it — Stalinist even, but against Stalin.

Until his dying day he abhorred and despised liberalism and parliamentary democracy, and he was no friend of the Western powers.

Yet he persuaded them to come to his aid with wheat and arms shipments in his hour of need, and they came as though they were the supplicants. This was a scenario that was often repeated.

Much of the world may have paid Tito obeisance, but a number of political and economic necessities failed to oblige.

Communist Yugoslavia could only hold its own between East and West by offering its people something better than Soviet socialism.

In 1950 it was not Tito but some of his closest associated who hit on the idea of workers' control. Millions of Yugoslavs began to hope the stranglehold of a closely knit group would gradually give way to democracy.

It might be a democracy without political parties or a private sector of the economy, but was a form of democracy different from the West's inconceivable?

There are dreamers in the West who still cherish these hopes, but Tito did nothing to encourage them. He never saw workers' control as more than a feature of management, and certainly not as a political system.

The moment it threatened to head in this direction he promptly nipped it in the bud. The worst danger as he saw it was that of a link between workers' control viewed as a political system and anything serious in the way of autonomy for Yugoslavia's constituent republics.

He governed the country by means of a mixture of personal rule and politbureau power.

Within this unbending framework there was room for all manner of Yugoslav peculiarities as and when the need arose in terms of practical politics.

Tito accepted not only workers' control but also private agriculture. He later allowed his subjects to leave the country, introduced a (socialist) market economy and came to terms with the ... But he always dismissed as absurd the idea that in his state the working people, meaning everyone, should have the right to decide their future in free elections.

Tito put paid to many expecta[tions] and dashed the hopes of many who were close to him. A cool customer [with] all the great men of this world, [he] dropped anyone who was in his [way] when it came to power, be they [former] partisans, pupils or even wives.

He rejected family rule. He had [no] intention of being hemmed in by [rela]tives in governing. Maybe his death [will] result in something altogether [different] from what everyone is expecting.

There is a widespread belief that [Yu]goslavia without Tito will swiftly [fall] into national disputes and infi[ghting and] power struggles.

But before his death Tito groom[ed a] small group of Party leaders to [look] after his legacy. Their common in[terest] in maintaining a firm Leninist [frame]work by means of a collective leade[rship] could well prove more powerful [than] their rivalry.

And even if one man should em[erge] from their number as the leader, little nothing would have changed. Yugo[slavia] is not bound to remain as it is for[ever] time but it is unlikely to change fast.

Forecasts of a Soviet invasion after [Ti]to's death are an even less likely p[ros]pect. The peoples of Yugoslavia [are] agreed in their determination to re[sist] Soviet occupation stiffly and for years [if] need be, and the Soviet politbureau [is] well aware of the fact.

They don't want Soviet communi[sm] and they are none too keen on Lenin[ism] either, despite whatever Tito may [have] thought.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 May 1980)

At the funeral

Continued from page 1

have been more apposite for President Carter to make a snap decision to attend Tito's funeral.

Mr Brehnev's attendance was of great political importance, and not only because the Soviet leader's own health is none too good.

More importantly, the Kremlin chose to repeat assurances that its ties with Yugoslavia would continue to be governed by non-intervention, equal rights and full respect for Belgrade's sovereign rights.

With Mr Brezhnev paying Tito his last tributes, this Soviet assurance would seem to assume copper-bottomed status.

The possibility of talks between the Soviet and Chinese leaders was another behind-the-scenes move the likelihood of which was given consideration.

It would not only have been the first meeting between the two Party leaders for more than 20 years; it would also, ironically, have been a posthumous feather in Tito's cap.

In recent years the Yugoslav leader had tried increasingly hard to mediate between the two Communist rivals.

Long before Tito's death a meeting between President Carter and President Brezhnev was felt to be a summit that would in principle be worth holding.

It may be deemed a pity, or possibly just a cynical fact of life, that a pretext such as this was needed for the US and Soviet leaders to meet.

It could hardly have been a more convenient opportunity. Tito's death, or so it seems, has provided a breathing space in world affairs, maybe even a pause for thought and a fresh start.

This would be an even greater irony of history, but for Marshal Tito it would, posthumously, be his greatest-ever success in a lifelong struggle for peace.

Holger Dohmen
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 May 1980)

How Bonn was brought into Nato

West Germany, a mainstay of Nato for 25 years, owes its membership of the North Atlantic pact to an idea that came to British Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden in the bathtub.

In the bath on Sunday morning, he later explained, he had realised on 5 September 1954 how to solve the dilemma that beset the West.

On 30 August 1954 the French National Assembly had rejected the European Defence Community (EDC), on which treaty terms had been agreed two years previously.

The EDC was to be a means of including West Germany in the Atlantic alliance — a Federal Republic of Germany that since its inception in September 1949 had remained a country under military occupation.

The Western Allies were prepared to acknowledge West German sovereignty, but only in return for a network of treaties designed to ensure that Bonn would be unable to go it alone.

France's *non* to the EDC put paid to the Deutschlandvertrag, or General Agreement on Relations between the Federal Republic and the Three Occupying Powers, concluded in May 1952.

Sir Anthony's bathtub brainstorm was that he remembered the Brussels Treaty signed by the Western Allies in 1948 to ensure a united front if ever Germany were to regain strength.

It was to have been superseded by the EDC but, Sir Anthony reasoned, why should its objective not be reversed and the Brussels Treaty used as the basis for a new defence arrangement including West Germany?

He persuaded both his Western Allies and Bonn Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to accept the idea and, a few weeks later on 23 October 1954, the Paris treaties were signed and the Western European Union (WEU) established.

Between 5 and 9 May 1955, a decade after VE Day, the occupation statutes governing the Federal Republic were repealed and Bonn became a member of Nato.

The EDC had died but given birth to the WEU, and it in its turn led to the Saar plebiscite. On 23 October 1955 the Saar was reunited with Germany, ending a serious dispute between France and Germany.

Had this dispute not been solved it is unlikely that talks would have been resumed a few weeks later that led to the signing of the 1957 Treaty of Rome and the establishment of the European Common Market.

Ratification of the Paris treaties was only accomplished in the Federal Republic as it was 25 years ago by dint of deep-seated domestic division.

But this dispute too was resolved when, in 1959, the Social Democrats adopted the Bad Godesberg Manifesto and came to terms with the new foreign policy situation.

Transatlantic ties have since held pride of place for the SPD. Chancellor Schmidt and Defence Minister Apel, both of whom are Social Democrats, are mainstays of Nato.

West Germany now ranks second only to the United States in Nato [by] virtue of a unique contribution. It [has] chosen to dispense with natio[nal] defence planning and military ope[ra]tions.

Instead, Bonn has opted to base its [se]curity and military protection on sub[or]dinating its armed forces entirely to N[ato] and on participating in integrated N[ato] leadership and command.

West Germany's defences are, in the final analysis, subject to deployment [by] international bodies.

Solidarity is essential in any allia[nce] of this kind. The time has come for careful definition of what solidarity be[tween] sovereign allies entails in a ... context.

It is that of an area of vital inte[rest] beyond the immediate confines of Na[to] which could well be considered of ... versal interest, and not only on ... of supply routes.

Carl A Ehrhardt
(Handelsblatt, 6 May 1980)

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■ POLITICS

Strauss campaign faces diverse difficulties

Franz Josef Strauss, the opposition candidate for Chancellor, has been keeping a low profile. He has not attacked his enemies, nor has he rallied his friends.

The anticipated fierce battle has failed to materialise and everybody is asking what has happened to Strauss.

To make matters worse, there are the identification problems. Helmut Kohl won little support within the CDU because it was generally felt that he was unequal to the task of being Chancellor.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

But Strauss, too, has met with only half-hearted approval. Though many consider him the better politician, they still feel that he is the wrong man for the job.

The fact is that Chancellor Schmidt has met with much approval and recognition among CDU voters — the same people who view Strauss with reservation. Doubts among CDU ranks are so prevalent that many people blame Strauss for the CDU losses in the Saar.

Berthold Budell, CDU floor leader in the Saar Assembly, recently even went so far as to say that it would be impossible to win the autumn general election with Strauss.

There are plenty of reasons for such doubts. There is, for instance, Strauss' unfortunate start as a chancellorship candidate last year. And he has not managed to get off the ground properly since. Nation-wide polls give the CDU/CSU 44 per cent of the vote.

Strauss has met with little public response with his domestic policy ideas. And his visits to Washington, Paris and London have yielded little in the foreign affairs sector.

The present international crisis is not exactly conducive to any challenger for the chancellorship. Instead, the people are rallying around their chancellor — especially a chancellor who has shown so much astuteness and circumspection in handling the problems at hand.



Schmidt and Strauss: do it my way.
(Cartoon: Peter Leger / Hannoversche Allgemeine)

Moreover, Strauss has made no bones about his largely agreeing with the Chancellor's foreign policy and has therefore not polemicised against Helmut Schmidt. For this he deserves praise.

Generally, Strauss has lately displayed none of the negative traits which his opponents attribute to him. But keeping such a low profile has not been very helpful.

If all that mattered were to find arguments in favour of the CDU there would be a ray of hope: The CDU is certainly more united than the SPD and if it came to power it would not be plagued by a rift between the Chancellor and the party grassroots.

The CDU is also a staunch supporter of the United States. It does not even contemplate neutralising the nation as do some segments of the SPD. The CDU also does not suffer from anti-military complexes, as do many Social Democrats. The party would perhaps also pursue a more sound policy against government indebtedness.

All this is probably so. But the question asked everywhere is not "Why should we vote for the CDU?" It is: "Why should we vote for Strauss?" And frequently this is followed by the rider: "After all, we have Schmidt."

It is understandable that all eyes are riveted on the Chancellor in the present international crisis. But one day it might also become obvious that what remains of public attention is being directed too much at Strauss, obscuring the vision for the actual qualities of the CDU.

But then, the conservatives would find it tough going in the present world crisis with any candidate trying to tackle Helmut Schmidt.

North Rhine-Westphalia goes to the polls this month. It is an educated guess that that election will largely decide the fate of Franz-Josef Strauss. The CDU's chances of winning the election are slim — as they are of winning the general election in the autumn.

Jürgen Offenbach
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 May 1980)

Bonn signs the cheque for GDR compromise

A number of declarations of intent and agreements have been signed at the East Berlin Foreign Office. These German-German deals are like mosaic stones in larger picture.

Günter Gaus, Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, explained what made these agreements so special: despite the difficult times in which we live, the two German states have reaffirmed the intention and the ability to work out viable compromise solutions.

But such compromises are not cheap for the Federal Republic of Germany. The renovation of the transport routes from the GDR to West Berlin is a luxury that East Germany could hardly have afforded.

On the other hand, if Bonn is to realise its political aims with regard to Berlin and the other Germany it must create the conditions needed to prevent a trip to the GDR from becoming a torture. It must also make West Berliners feel that they are still part of the Federal Republic.

Taking this as a yardstick, the cost of DM507m, spread over several years, is tolerable. This price includes the development of the Wartha-Herleshausen transit road (DM268m); the improvement of a 27-kilometre stretch of the Mittelland Canal near Magdeburg to facilitate transport to West Berlin; and the construction of a second railroad track between Wannsee and Potsdam-Werder, thus shortening the travelling time somewhat.

As usual, there was much haggling over money. But Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer gave his negotiator more scope than even before.

Incidentally, the Wartha complex also includes the construction of a DM80m bridge across the Werra River (on GDR territory) which will be built by a West German company.

Bonn's negotiator was particularly pleased about the success in environmental matters. GDR fertiliser factories have been havily polluting the Werra River for years, the dirt being carried to West Germany, which is much more sensitive about pollution than the GDR.

Now it appears that there is a chance of beating these pollution problems.

Until recently, environmental policy makers in both Germanies had little chance to discuss these problems, talks in November 1973 having broken down without being resumed.

But on 1 September the silence will be broken when delegations begin their talks on the Werra pollution.

Sten Martenson
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 4 May 1980)

Juggling with coalition possibilities

Both Franz Josef Strauss (CSU) and Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) have stated publicly that a coalition between the two after the general election can be ruled out.

Strauss spoke of "foolish coalition offers by people without a mandate" while Genscher put an end to the discussion on the subject saying: "Nobody can pull us into this sort of thing."

It is not hard to understand why they have taken this line. Yet, despite it all, FDP MP Möllemann said that the terms would be tough if the SPD wanted to continue in the present coalition.

FDP Secretary-General Günter Verheugen, who instantly put Möllemann in his place, knew what he was doing: Möllemann's stance had earned him the suspicion that he was acting as Genscher's minesweeper, willing to sacrifice himself for the lord and master.

But then even Genscher has somewhat distanced himself from his coalition partner. This was demonstrated when 17 SPD MPs voted against the Olympic boycott and the FDP leader called their move a "curtailment of the government's scope of action."

But the events after the recent election in the Saar that led to the continuation of a CDU/FDP government simply went too far for Genscher.

For the FDP, which, though it lost half a percentage point at the polls nevertheless made a pretty good showing with 6.9 per cent of the vote, there was no need for frantic activity. The outcome of the polls spoke neither in favour nor against a coalition with the CDU in other parts of the country.

Not so where the CDU is concerned: the loss of five percentage points obviously led to a search for a culprit and equally obviously Strauss was mentioned.

Lower Saxony's Finance Minister Leisler Kiep (CDU) was most outspoken. He offered the FDP a coalition on a national scale, pointing out that Strauss himself had once said that he would not stand in the way of such a coalition.

It stands to reason that Strauss opposes such discussions. But then they are equally dangerous for the CDU which cannot go into an election with Strauss as the candidate and at the same time intimate to the public that the candidate need not necessarily become the Chancellor. This could only lead to a loss of credibility.

Things are more complicated where Genscher is concerned though they are equally alarming: there is nothing to indicate that CDU voters would vote for the FDP only on the assumption that Strauss could be made to step down.

Though in the Saar the FDP managed to get some CDU votes, it was from a CDU that had more or less tacitly toed Strauss' line until election day.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, on the other hand, where the liberals have avowed that they would coalesce with the SPD, any flirt with the CDU — regardless whether with or without Strauss — is bound to cost the FDP votes.

Understandably, Genscher is trying to muzzle any discussion on a future coalition. But when the day comes when this discussion can no longer be stopped — and it could come sooner than Genscher would like — the FDP will lose votes in the forthcoming North Rhine-Westphalia election.

But if the CDU gets such a thorough beating that Strauss decides to step down after all, Genscher will have no way of preventing the tug-of-war over the coalition partner.

Hans Werner Kettenbach
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1980)

■ INTERVIEW

War and peace: psychology of an uncertain world



Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker (Photo: Sven

The long-term task of humanity, that of overcoming war, can be achieved, according to Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Professor of Theoretical Physics and Philosophy and Director of the Max Planck Institute, Stamberg. However, war could not be overcome if the old sovereign powers continued to threaten one another with weapons so big that they were afraid to use them, he says in an interview with Udo Reiter of Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.

Question: Professor von Weizsäcker, recent polls have shown that fear of war in this country has grown in recent months. Is this an over-reaction? It is probably a reaction to Afghanistan. Do you think these increasing fears are justified in view of the real world situation?

A: Unfortunately I must say that I do not find these fears completely unjustified. I have myself been very concerned about this danger for a long time and I was always somewhat surprised that the objective danger that there could be war one day was not made clear.

I feel that the event generally referred to by the name of Afghanistan has torn away the curtain and many people realise that the situation is dangerous. This does not mean that war is inevitable. All I am saying is that the situation is not without danger.

Q: Perhaps we should start by looking at the worst of all conceivable possibilities, namely that Western Europe, including West Germany, were to be involved in a war. How could such involvement come about? A direct attack on Western Europe by the Soviet Union is not very probable at the moment.

A: I agree completely. Of course one never knows what can happen, acts of lunacy can always occur, but basically in the past decades the Soviet Union has pursued very cautious policies and certainly it would be very imprudent on the Soviet part if they were now to attack Western Europe.

The Soviet Union's interest, if I judge correctly, is to bring Western European economic capacity into close connection with its own economy, ideally of course by political domination or political influence on Western Europe. But this economic interest, which is perhaps vital for the Soviet Union as its own economy is not working well, would not be served if the Soviet Union now suddenly attempted to conquer us by violence, in the process probably destroying the industrial capacity it would need to keep intact.

On the other hand, if the situation is not handled properly, it is conceivable that it could come to this on both sides, even though they know better.

Q: There are those who say that the Third World War has already begun in that the Soviet Union is attempting, not to conquer Western Europe, but to cut off its lifelines, i.e. our raw materials and oil supplies. Assuming that this is what the Soviet Union is trying to do: would you go so far as to say that de facto this would be equivalent to an attack on our country?

A: When we will have seen an attack on our lifelines, we will know that this is not equivalent to an attack on our country. But we should not delude ourselves that the hegemony conflict between the world powers is not going on.

And here the Soviet Union has the chance to put pressure on us by endangering our oil supplies. This is an obvious policy, indeed much more obvious than a direct attack on us. Such policies are, in principle, possible for the Soviet Union in the next five to ten years.

Q: *There are indications that such activity by the Soviet Union is most probable in the next decade.*

A: This was my view of matters 10 years ago, although at that time I had no persuasive reasons for this belief and now to my dismay I find that it seems even more likely now that my reasons are far better.

I can attempt to enumerate the reasons: in saying what I am now saying. I do not need to assume that the Soviet Union is especially aggressive. The Russians are good chess players and the Soviet government, as far as it can, deals with the world political situation like a game of chess it wants to win.

My impression is that the situation in the Soviet Union is in many points now far worse than the Soviet leaders expected perhaps 15 years ago: the economy is in a poor state, economic growth has practically come to a standstill, perhaps there is even negative growth.

Acts of lunacy can always occur, but basically in the past decades the Soviet Union has pursued very cautious policies... certainly it would be imprudent if they were now to attack Western Europe.

Technologically, the USSR cannot catch up with the West. That is clear now. The West remains superior technologically. In the long term, China is a nightmare for them. And they have also lost their ideological influence over socialists throughout the world; I do not know if there are many socialists in the world who still believe that the Soviets are socialists. Quite apart from anyone considering them friends of freedom.

This means that the Soviet position today rests to a large extent on the one thing they have achieved: their great military strength. The Americans have revised their previously conciliatory approach towards the Soviet Union and are now determined to resist the Soviet Union, and to re-arm to do so.

If America wishes, it can in the long run, re-arm more than the Soviet Union. And this means that even the Soviet Union's relative military strength is in danger of disappearing in the next 10 years.

Q: This would mean that if the Soviet Union wanted to act, to derive some benefit from its military strength, it would have to happen in the eighties?

A: This at least seems very likely. I have held this opinion for some time and I see that a large number of people have the same opinion. Henry Kissinger put this point of view recently in a speech in Brussels, for example.

Q: Do you think Afghanistan is a move in this direction?

A: I can imagine that the Soviets invaded Afghanistan because they were afraid that they might lose their position of more or less complete supremacy within Afghanistan. To stick to the chess image, this would simply mean moving a pawn to a more protected position. But of course no move is made without the game as a whole in mind.

Q: What theoretical possibilities does the Soviet Union have a making political capital out of its military strength?

A: The Soviet Union is today superior to every military power in Asia. And one can imagine that the Soviet Unon has many Asiatic interests which it would be prepared to fulfil either by miligary invasion or the threat of military force.

These range from the difficult question of its relations with China to the Persian Gulf region which because of oil is the most important for us. Economists reckon that the Soviet Union will urgently need Middle East oil itself in the 80s.

Apart from that, if the Soviet Union gained control over Middle East oil not only on the Persian but on the other side of the Gulf then it would have a powerful weapon with which to exert pressure on Japan and on us.

Q: It is difficult to imagine what reaction we in particular and the West in general could make to such a move.

A: I agree it would be very difficult indeed. I think that President Carter's response — giving a kind of guarantee for the Gulf region — will have a deterrent effect on the Soviet Union, whose policies are extremely prudent and who cannot completely rule out an extreme reaction by the United States.

Nonetheless the Soviets have the famous advantage of being on the spot. With its land forces and tank strength the Soviet Union can theoretically march into any country it wants in Asia. It was naive of us to imagine that by guaranteeing the sea routes we could ensure that the oil that has never really belonged to us would go on flowing for us whenever we wanted.

This was a naive policy towards the Arab and Persian nations. And of course it is even more naive in view of the fact that the Russians could cut it off.

Q: So we are very vulnerable here and do not have any immediately apparent means of defending our interests here. Can one put it in these terms?

A: Having mentioned the possible danger points, I don't think we should exaggerate the danger. We are vulnerable here. But we can do something about it.

The Russians are good chess players and the Soviet Government, as far as it can, deals with the world political situation like a game of chess it wants to win.

We can develop other sources of energy, switch to buying oil from other regions and, most important of all, learn to save energy better. But all this is not enough now that we have become so dependent.

On the other hand, an attempt by the Soviet Union to gain real political control over Persian and Arab oil would be a very difficult undertaking. I can imagine that one could — as the French in particular are doing now — pursue policies in the Persian Gulf that tend so strongly towards peace and a balance of power that any political intervention might seem too risky to the Ru[ssians]. But I cannot rule out such inter[vention] altogether.

Militarily they can do it and [to pre]vent them by military means s[eems to] me in Persia at least to be very d[ifficult]. It would also be militarily very d[ifficult] to prevent them gaining military c[ontrol] of the Arab oilfields and thus c[utting] off our oil supplies.

Q: Peace is not yet lost and eve[ry] day attempts are being made to r[escue] what to date has been called d[étente]. But the last few months have cl[early] shown clearly that with these p[olicies]

I believe that war is a very ancient institution and that it would be foolish and naively optimistic to imagine that it is a phenomenon which would suddenly cease to exist in our century.

you can only ever get as far as your [op]ponent is prepared to allow you. How [do] you judge the chances for détente [in] particular after Afghanistan?

A: I have not changed my [views] about détente policies because of Af[gha]nistan. At the beginning of the [70s I] was a firm advocate of détente pol[icies] in the sense in which Kissinger pur[sued] them and in the sense in which Br[andt,] Scheel and Bahr pursued them. A[nd I] still believe this policy was right.

Of course one must know what [one] means by détente. Of course one [must] not think — that was always a mis[take] — that we would suddenly become f[riends] with the world power that is [still] as determined as ever to win its gam[e of] chess. The aim was, on the contrary, [to] use the common interest in survi[val to] ensure that the game of chess did [not] degenerate into death and destruc[tion]. This can be done.

The Soviet Union's interest in sur[viv]ing, of not being destroyed in a w[ar, is] as great as ever. The error was to b[elieve] that détente meant one was no [longer] dealing with an enemy whose a[im was] without a doubt to rule the world. [In] this sense I would say that détente [has] not been proved wrong; it just [has not been] interpreted as it was meant to be inter[preted and as intelligent people [should] have interpreted it.

Q: How is it that today when ev[ery]one can imagine the horrors of a [modern] war and no one basically wants this, the dangers of war have increased r[ather] than decreased? What has gone wrong?

A: Well, this is basically a very [wide-]ranging question. I believe that war [is a] very ancient human institution and it would be foolish and naively opti[mis]tic to imagine that it is a phenome[non] which would suddenly cease to ex[ist in] our century.

People thought this before 1914

Continued on page 5

■ THE MEDIA

Tension boosts value of broadcasts to Iron Curtain countries

Western radio stations broadcasting to communist countries have doubly benefitted from increased tension between East and West: at home people are coming to appreciate more the importance of the broadcasts and in the target countries the thirst for information is growing.

The two American short-wave radio stations in Munich, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, find that after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, West German scepticism about their existence and their work has been reduced considerably thanks to a more realistic assessment of detente policy. And the US authorities are more willing to provide the necessary funds.

The stations have long wanted to improve broadcasting technique and the quality of reception and it looks as if this wish will be fulfilled; there is even talk of a new transmitter on the east coast of the Mediterranean from which it would be easier to reach the central Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union than from the present transmitter in Spain.

Increasing staff numbers at both stations would be equally important but, despite better financial prospects, this is proving difficult — there are just not enough specialists in the 14 non-Russian languages in which Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union. The greatest shortage is of experts in the seven languages spoken in the Muslim areas of the Soviet Union.

Shortly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, special programme services for the Muslim regions were introduced but had to scratched again after only a few days due to staff shortage.

The basic principles on which these stations operate has not changed since the Afghanistan and Iran crises. The motto remains: "We report on events, we do not make them." Even if there were to be a further escalation in the situation they would not produce sensational or emotive reports.

But the two short-wave stations do have to take into account a greater need for information and a change in mood in the Eastern areas to which they broadcast.

The eastern part of central Europe is well informed about the deterioration of the world political situation and Radio Free Europe realises this.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

It is no problem finding out how much the listeners in Poland or Rumania know and what they want further information about. The station simply conducts representative polls among the listeners and acts on the results.

At the moment there is a very definite but also a mixed sense of crisis in the smaller East European States: on the one hand they welcome the fact that America has at last decided to meet the challenge firmly; on the other hand the same listeners are worried about losing the advantages that detente brought them.

They fear restrictions on travel and contacts with foreigners, they expect that the supply situation at home and governmental pressure will increase.

Though many dislike the regimes under which they live, few in East Europe are so passionately determined to resist that they can be indifferent to the definite improvements in their lives in recent years.

Radio Liberty knows far less about the general knowledge, the wishes, opinions and gaps in information of its listeners in the Soviet Union — especially those of the non-Russian nationalities.

And they know virtually nothing about any specific changes that have taken place since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Nor do they know if the number of their listeners has increased or dropped.

The American news magazine, *Time*, speculated recently that 100 m people in the Soviet Union listen to foreign broadcasts. This estimate is of little real value because many listeners probably listen to several stations: the Munich stations, the Voice of America, the BBC, the Deutsche Welle, and perhaps also Kol Israel as well as Canadian and Swedish stations. The quality of the reception also differs from region to region, and this, too, has to be taken into account.

A Samizdat (underground) publication recently praised Radio Liberty, but added that it can hardly be heard in the big cities. At the moment, it is the only foreign station deliberately jammed by the Soviet authorities.

So there is no definite information about the level of increase in listeners, though experience shows that more people listen in times of crisis.

Careful monitoring of official Soviet news broadcasts, which play down Afghanistan and say nothing about Soviet army involvement, indicate that there is a great need for information.

Sporadic and non-representative polls among listeners have cast interesting light on the way citizens of different regions react to official Soviet news broadcasts: the Russian population is more inclined to believe the Moscow version of events that the Soviet army was called into and amicably received in Afghanistan than the population of the Baltic states, the Ukraine, and Georgia.

In places such as Riga, Kiev and Tbilisi where the Red Army quashed attempts at independence, what is happening in Afghanistan seems all too familiar. Criticism of the Russian intervention is greater here.

On the other hand, no one knows how great the criticism is in the Muslim regions of central Asia.

Some western correspondents who have been there have produced reports on the mood there but most of their information has come from official sources. The stereotype answer from these sources was: "The events in Iran have no effect on our region."

What could be true is that the Muslims in the central Asian republics of the Soviet Union lookdown on the Afghans and regard them as primitive. It could also be true that the intelligentsia in the Soviet Muslim regions, which is not very religious, has little time for Islamic fundamentalism.

However, it is possible that the events in Iran and Afghanistan have had an effect on the cultural sense of identity and have thus led to solidarity. This is the view at Radio Liberty, though they admit that this is pure speculation.

The West knows nothing about the views of the people in the Muslim regions of the Soviet Union. All Radio Liberty can do is to keep on providing information and hope that it satisfies what they believe is a great need.

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1980)

Psychology of an uncertain world

Continued from page 4

they were wrong. And they thought this after 1945 and were wrong again. The long-term task of humanity must be to overcome war and I believe this problem can be solved but it cannot be solved if only the old sovereign powers continue to exist and threaten one another with weapons that are so awesome that they are afraid to use them.

We have seen how things go: there are continually wars in the Third World, because they know that no atomic weapons will be used there. New types of weapons for limited use are continually being developed and as a result war has become more probable.

I think that people underestimated the amount of persuasion and effort it is going to take when they said that there would not be any more wars because we now have nuclear weapons.

Q: So the solution can only be a new world order?

A: Yes, I suspect this is true. But at the moment this is so far away that I would not even like to speculate what it might be like.

Q: You said some years ago that mere rational pacifism, i.e. a mere realisation of the need for peace, did not get us very far. You said at the time that the will to war was "in the depths of the human soul."

A: I believe that our aggressions to a large extent are an escape from our aggressions towards ourselves, towards our dissatisfaction with ourselves and with others. And then it is amazingly easy to look at the enemy outside and say that he is to blame and we have to do something against him.

If you say that we cannot bring about peace by ourselves I would answer that we can and should try to work against the disquiet and dissatisfaction within ourselves. This is a task which we can and should devote ourselves to. And here the only thing that really counts is that we should try not to delude ourselves.

Perhaps one can best be forced into not deluding oneself by a terrible shock which brings home to us that we cannot go on living in and with our illusions.

So perhaps this shock which you spoke of at the beginning a positive thing in this respect. It should lead not to panic but to soul-searching. Finally, however, and anyone who has had anything to do with religion knows this, the solution to the effort to live at peace with oneself and with others is not in our power, yet it is something which happens nonetheless, a kind of grace.

Q: Is what you are saying not based ultimately upon the concept described in Christian theology as the peace of God?

A: Yea, I say unto thee. But I would like to avoid a misunderstanding here. I don't want anyone to say that politics cannot provide the answer so I am fleeing to God because God is always there for those who do not know how to go on. This is not what I mean.

I think that people underestimated the amount of persuasion and effort it is going to take when they said that there would not be any more wars because we now have nuclear weapons.

What I mean and what I have on occasion said is that every peace is "the body of a truth." And the name of God denotes among other things the truth which man can find out about himself if he is prepared to open his mind and heart to a power greater than himself. And only when possessed of this truth can one have the courage to look things in the eye and only in this courage can one preserve real peace.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 2 May 1980)

■ THE ECONOMY

Predictions take on less pessimistic mood

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The Federal Republic of Germany is not heading for an economic crisis, reports by the Bundesbank and the five major economic research institutes in the country make clear.

The joint assessment of the institutes, which predicts a slight bottleneck rather than anything more serious, contrast with their forecasts in October last year, when they went overboard in their pessimism.

In addition, a leading industrialist says that the economy is much more buoyant than the media are picturing it.

What causes insecurity is not so much the contrasts in the overall economic picture but external factors — primarily those of a political nature.

The events in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the rapidly deteriorating relations between the superpowers cannot fail to affect the economy. But there is no need to raise even worse spectres.

As Toni Schmücker, chief executive of Volkswagen put it, there is no way of steering a chaos anyway.

The fact is that the public and the business community react to crises with much more equanimity than they did only a few years ago.

Our excellent growth rate in the first quarter of this year and the brisk business at the major spring trade fairs combined with the growth carried over from last year make the government growth target of 2.5 per cent for 1980 perfectly feasible, the institutes say in their latest report.

Yet the business community is fully aware of the dangers ahead. In other words, everybody recognises the tricky situation but everybody also refuses to make this the basis on which to act.

Two examples: The VW concern plans investments of DM10bn for the period from 1980 to 1982; and a leading spokesman of Germany's savings banks has said that the demand for credit is undiminished.

Clearly, the business community is undaunted in its planning for the 1980s, and though it realises the burdens imposed by the energy problem it sees this as a challenge.

The Bundesbank is also cautiously optimistic in its annual report. It expects the growth rate to diminish slightly but its general assessment of the economy is positive. And even the Institute for the German Economy, echoing the Chamber of Industry, stresses that 1980 will be a good year by and large.

And all in all, the tenor of all these assessments is that, notwithstanding international instability, we must make full use of growth opportunities.

All this has nothing to do with an ostrich attitude. After all, the business community is fully aware of the gravity of the events in the Middle East and the possible effects of further oil price increases by Opec.

It is also aware of the problems at home such as our growing balance of payments deficit, galloping state debt and the still unchecked inflation. The latter has just been underscored by the Bundesbank's latest increase of interest rates.

But these problems cannot be overcome by lamentation. They call for determined action.

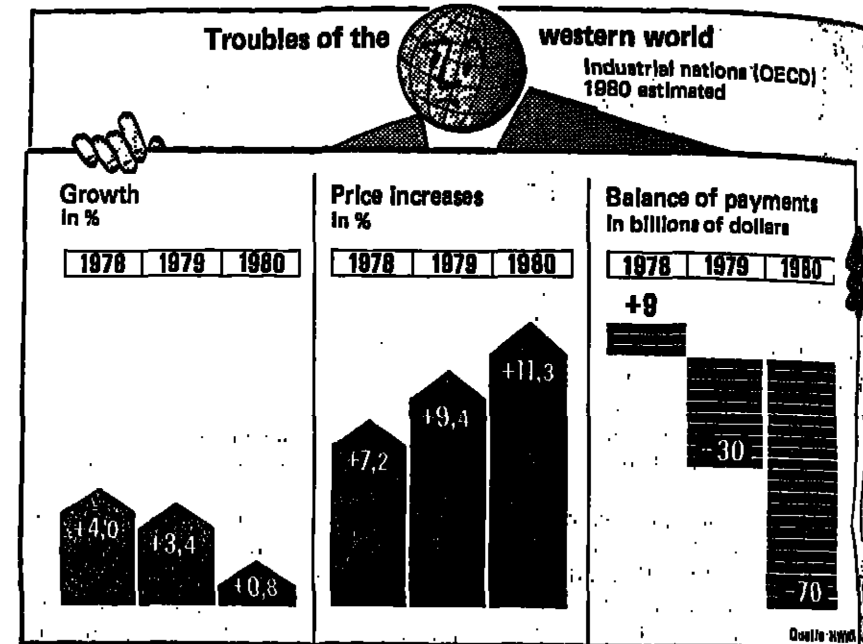
A major bank made it clear recently that it depends on the internal structure and attitude of a national economy whether and how it will react to external setbacks.

This also includes the right reaction to the oil price shock and the political upheavals in general.

Given such a bleak backdrop, it is not surprising that the mood appears to be worse than the situation warrants.

But the very fact that political instability and economic setbacks have left us unfazed shows that the German economy is about to put its full weight on the teetering scales of a world in crisis.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 May 1980)



Approval for decision to increase bank interest rates

The latest Bundesbank decision to increase the discount and lombard rates while at the same time improving the liquidity of banks is generally seen as sound and balanced. Only the trade unions have criticised the move.

The increase of the discount rate from 7 to 7.5 per cent and the lombard rate from 8.5 to 9.5 per cent came as a surprise. Interest rates have thus reached the highest level since July 1970. But at the same time the Bundesbank released DM4bn, adding to the banks' liquidity.

The aim of this added liquidity is to compensate for the outflow of capital to foreign countries, which, it is estimated, will reach about DM20bn by the end of this month.

Until now, the banks have had to resort to lombard credits for liquidity. But, according to Bundesbank President Pöhl, the central bank does not want lombard credits to become a permanent instrument of liquidity.

This is the reason why the central bank has released some of the funds the banks must keep on interest-free deposit with it.

Such a release of funds alone, Herr Pöhl said, would have been misunderstood as a monetary all-clear signal — especially in view of the fact that German interest rates had begun to go down in the wake of the drastic interest rate reductions in the United States.

He stressed that there was absolutely no reason to sound the all-clear. On the contrary. The Bundesbank differs with the economic research institutes so far as the further development of inflation is concerned, which it regards with grave dismay.

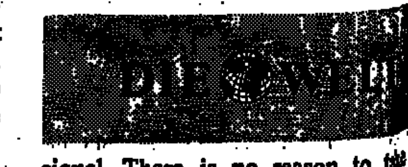
Monetary developments, Herr Pöhl says, also preclude giving the all-clear signal. There is no reason to take the foot off the brakes as some economic research institutes have recommended.

The Bundesbank holds that the latest increase in the lending rate in no way endangers the economy. Though Herr Pöhl considers reduced growth rates possible in the second half of the year, this is by no means certain.

Demand, he says, is considerably more buoyant than was expected and economic growth is more likely to reach the 3 per cent mark than the 2.5 per cent forecast by Bonn.

Claus Dertinger

(Die Welt, 2 May 1980)



Growth target is realistic, say researchers

Bonn's modest growth rate target for this year of 2.5 per cent is realistic, agree four of Germany's five major economic research institutes.

The only dissenters are the pessimists in Kiel. A slight reduction in unemployment is anticipated and they are optimistic about inflation.

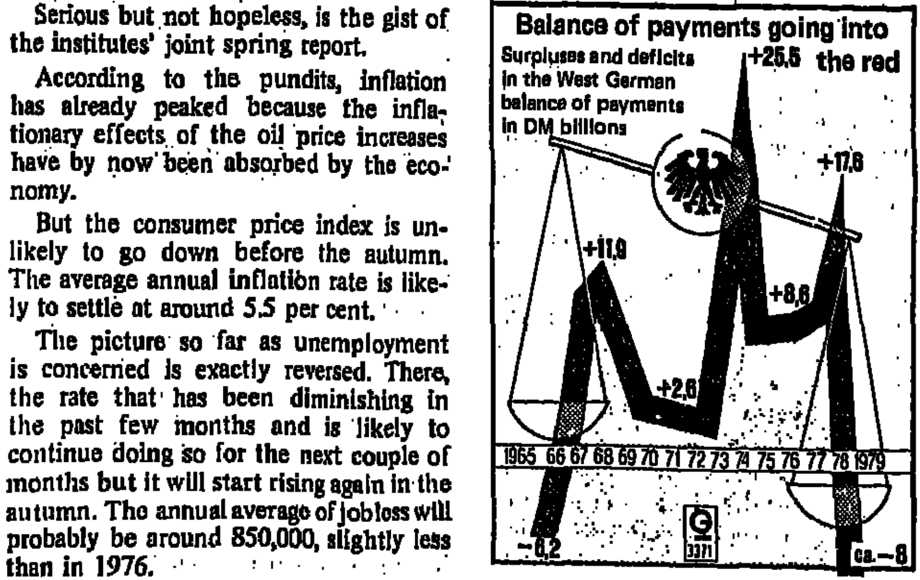
Serious but not hopeless, is the gist of the institutes' joint spring report.

According to the pundits, inflation has already peaked because the inflationary effects of the oil price increases have by now been absorbed by the economy.

But the consumer price index is unlikely to go down before the autumn. The average annual inflation rate is likely to settle at around 5.5 per cent.

The picture so far as unemployment is concerned is exactly reversed. There, the rate that has been diminishing in the past few months and is likely to continue doing so for the next couple of months but it will start rising again in the autumn. The annual average of jobless will probably be around 850,000, slightly less than in 1976.

If all these calculations prove correct, 1980 will certainly not be one of the great years in the annals of our economy. But we shall scrape through. The drastic oil price increases will not have the paralysing effect they had after the 1973 shock.



Still, they will take their toll, as borne out by two sets of figures: The economists estimate that we will chalk up a balance of payments deficit of DM25bn this year rather than the "mere" DM20bn estimated earlier. This enormous deficit, which we can only balance by borrowing abroad or dipping into our currency reserves, is due to the fact that our oil bill in 1980 will rise from DM49bn in 1979 to DM75bn.

As a result, the nation's income, adjusted for inflation, will show no rise at all this year. After all, the additional DM26bn which we shall have to pay to the Opec countries will not be available for distribution at home.

This is borne out by the relation between the inflation rate and the wage increases this year: once adjusted for inflation, incomes will remain the same as in 1979.

In other words, the increased productivity this year as a result of rationalisation measures will simply flow into Opec coffers. The only way of preventing this is for each of us to cut down on fuel consumption as much as possible.

But all these forecasts will only come true if nothing unexpected and untoward happens. No economist can foretell what the Gulf states have in store for us.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 2 May 1980)

■ RAW MATERIALS

Stockpile plan drawn up as a guard against supply failure



Plans to stockpile raw materials as insurance against shortage have been drawn up by the Bonn Government in conjunction with industry.

The project was prompted by fears over lack of continuity in supply.

"Millions of jobs in jeopardy" read a headline in the conservative daily *Die Welt* recently. The reason given by the paper was that Moscow was trying to grab the world's raw materials.

The authors of such news items have the relevant figures at their fingertips. According to one of them, a 3 per cent cutback of chrome imports alone would endanger 6.8m jobs. A similar supply gap for manganese and asbestos would lead to another 14m redundancies, wrote *Die Welt.*

Alleged secret studies commissioned by the Bonn government are cited as the source of these figures. But a closer look reveals these studies as far less alarming than the authors would have us believe.

Such warnings are as exaggerated as are some of the hopes pinned on national raw materials stockpiles.

It is as untrue that, given fairly calculable conditions, our economy would collapse due to inadequate raw materials supplies as it is unlikely that stockpiles would decisively contribute to making our economic future more secure.

A contract for the creation of such stockpiles — enough to secure our chrome, managanese, vanadium, cobalt and asbestos requirements for one year — has been ready for signature for some time, industry and the Bonn government having come to terms in principle after much haggling over financing.

If all goes according to plan we shall have made provision for a rainy day. Such an arrangement would emulate the United States, which has gone furthest in stockpiling raw materials. It has even ensured an adequate supply of feathers.

By providing DM600m at extremely favourable interest rates, the Bundesbank will contribute towards this national squirreling action as will the Bonn Government, which is to set aside DM51m over the next three years.

Industry will fork out the same amount — on top of the actual cost of the raw materials.

But those responsible for the deal — especially in Bonn — know that should a supply bottleneck arise these stockpiles would be of little use. But they have every reason to hope that the contingency will not arise.

Let us take chrome as an example. More than 60 per cent of our requirements comes from South Africa, a country whose political future is anything but rosy. Another 12 per cent comes from the Soviet Union.

Should one of these countries be unable and the other unwilling to supply this commodity in adequate quantities, the consequences would be unsettling to say the least.

Only 4 to 5 per cent of the chrome shortfall could be offset, though not easily. Certain alloys could be made with manganese or vanadium instead of chrome, but these metals are also listed as sensitive.

The same applies to cobalt: only 16 per cent of our annual needs could be substituted. But there is no way of substituting cobalt in certain special types of steel. According to the Bonn Ministry of Economic Affairs, this could only be done at the cost of quality, if at all.

The situation regarding manganese is similar. Only 3.5 per cent could be replaced in the first year of a shortfall. One of the substitute elements is titanium which will not be stockpiled although it was in short supply last year because the Soviets refused to sell.

The reason for the Kremlin's move, security experts say, was of a military nature. The Economic Affairs Ministry, on the other hand, says that the Kremlin did not deliver because of inadequate processing capacities.

But all these contingency scenarios have three major shortcomings:

- They underestimate the suppliers' (regardless whether their system is capitalist or communist) vested interest in the lucrative sale of such commodities;
- They also underestimate the ability of industry and consumers alike to react to rising prices by changing their requirements;
- They disregard the fact that new deposits are being found constantly and that more and more raw materials are recycled the more prices rise.

Despite growing consumption, copper production has increased four-fold within the past few years. The incentive provided by dramatically rising prices made this possible.

It is in keeping with this "static" way of looking at things that Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer is considering doing away with chromium-plated fenders on cars should there be a shortage.

The Economic Affairs Ministry sees things in a different and "dynamic" light: "Should tin become in short supply and expensive nobody will want to buy tin soldiers."

The situation with fenders would be similar: even a poor market can always be expected to be more creative than a lawmaker.

Seen in this light, the establishment of national stockpiles appears less important than its advocates (among them Herr Matthöfer) seem to believe. But on the other hand — and this might sound paradoxical — the envisaged stockpiles are to small.

Even if business and consumers will react sensibly to shortages and rising prices they should be given more time to come up with new production methods and to get used to the new products. One year is simply too little.

According to Dieter von Würzen of the Economic Affairs Ministry, we should allow at least 2½ years to find a reasonable substitute for chrome or cobalt.

Stockpiles that would be large enough to give us time to find substitutes would certainly provide more security without costing too much more.

Only a year ago, wolfram was considered particularly sensitive because it is used in light bulbs and without it we would be groping in the dark. But new types of bulbs are now ready to roll off the assembly lines — bulbs without wolfram and much more economical than the conventional version.

It seems that important raw materials need only be in short supply to make them redundant.

Dieter Piel

(Die Zeit, 2 May 1980)

Geologists search for local uranium sources

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Geologists are optimistic that commercialy viable amounts of uranium can be found in West Germany.

Some 150 experts are scouring the country, unworried by anti-nuclear protestors, with hopes that somewhere under German corn and potato fields, they will find the fuel for the nation's reactors.

The most productive deposits in Germany so far were found a few years ago in the Black Forest and in the hilly countryside between Baden-Baden and Gernsbach, a resort town.

Saarberg-Interplan GmbH, a subsidiary of Saarbergwerke AG, has for the past five years been prospecting in the Black Forest and the Upper Palatinate, hoping to find the uranium which we now import from the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

While the antinukes managed to stop prospecting in some areas of Baden-Württemberg, they have been unsuccessful in Bavaria.

The Bavarian part of the Upper Palatinate has become the headquarters of the Saarberg-Interplan GmbH prospectors. They have settled in the tiny village of Girnitz (pop. 100).

Ever since special helicopters and other aircraft equipped with geiger counters found "radioactive anomalies", 15 geologists have been criss-crossing the Girnitz region in search of uranium.

They use geiger counters and the much more accurate scintillometers (costing DM15,000 each).

Several drills have also been sunk in promising spots. But after dozens of such drilling tests the geologists have found that the deposits are too small to make their exploitation viable.

Only when experts are confident that they have found a fairly large area where they can get one kilo of uranium per ton of rock will drilling to depths of up to 300 metres become worthwhile. Promising samples will then be sent to the Saarberg-Interplan headquarters in Saarbrücken for analysis. But even then, nine out of ten such exploratory drillings will prove commercially unviable.

Despite all setbacks, Saarberg-Interplan has discovered considerable deposits worth exploiting. In fact, in the corn and potato fields of the Schwandorf district of Bavaria pieces of uranium ore can be picked up by anybody, and a few kilometers further along, at the foot of the Schirmberg mountain near Altendorf, local miners have sunk a 250-meter exploratory shaft into the mountain.

Apart from the usual helmet, the miners wear no protective clothing because the shaft is so well ventilated that radiation from the fluorescent uranium ore is within tolerance limits. The miners carry special phosphate pellets and film strips in their clothing. These are delivered once a month to special laboratories to assess the amount of radiation.

So far, it has been established that the radiation to which the miners are exposed is only one-twentieth of the amount still considered safe.

Up to now, Saarberg-Interplan has obtained 7.65 tons of uranium ore which yielded 105 kilos of uranium for experimental purposes. The decision whether to proceed with a large-scale exploitation in Bavaria will not be made before the end of 1983.

No uranium will be mined in the Black Forest for the time being because many citizens fear that this would turn the famous spa, Baden-Baden, into a mining town.

The villagers in the Bavarian part of the Upper Palatinate, on the other hand, who are accustomed to mining anyway, have nothing against uranium mines. They mix freely and amiably with the prospectors, whom they meet regularly in the local pub.

Udo Lorenz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 April 1980)

■ RESEARCH

Death of last member of nuclear fission pioneer team

Research chemist Fritz Strassmann, the sole surviving member of a team of scientists who discovered nuclear fission over a four-year period in the 30s, has died aged 78 at Mainz University Hospital.

The others were radiochemist Otto Hahn, head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Chemistry Institute in Berlin, and nuclear physicist Lise Meitner, in charge of physics at the Berlin institute.

Strassmann was an analytical chemist who read his chemistry at Hanover, spent a spell as asssistant to Hermann Braune and joined the staff of the Berlin institute in 1929, gaining additional qualifications as a radiochemist.

It was Strassmann's outstanding analytical knowledge and ability that prompted Hahn and Meitner at the end of 1934 to ask him to join them in their work on the substances generated by Enrico Fermi and his group in Berlin by bombarding uranium with neutrons.

Lise Meitner and Otto Hahn. (Photo: dpa)

They first felt they were dealing with transuranic elements, and as they were a physics problem it had been Frau Meitner, the physicist, who suggested closer scrutiny of the new substances.

She had some difficulty in persuading Professor Hahn, the radiochemist, to collaborate in this project as he and she had done in others from 1907 until the mid-20s.

But what the Fermi group had to say made it clear that the services of an analytical chemist were required, so Fritz Strassmann was asked to join them after making a number of suggestions.

He had pointed out shortcomings in the chemical evidence in the Fermi group's chain of argument (as Ida Noddack was later to do) and submitted proposals for an improvement in analytical procedures.

His collaboration soon grew so indispensable that early in 1935 Hahn hired him as his scientific assistant even though Strassmann disapproved of the Nazis and was not allowed by them to take his PhD as a result.

Hahn himself was a Liberal Conservative and strictly opposed to National Socialism, especially as Frau Meitner, an Austrian Jew, was increasingly hampered by Nazi race laws.

So his institute was in political disgrace and he might have been excused for being particularly careful in his choice of staff so as not to risk further difficulties in the wake of a provocative appointment.

But Hahn set great store by Strassmann and the ability he alone showed in proving the existence and identifying shortlived by products of uranium bombardment despite the feeble radiation sources at their disposal.

Their research swiftly produced fresh results that seemed to indicate the existence of an entire series of isomeric transuranic elements with even higher numbers than those already known.

Physicists were sceptical but readily acknowledged the bona fides of Hahn, Meitner, Strassmann and their work. They had in fact misinterpreted their findings (but were bound to do so given what was known about nuclear physics at the time).

But this was not realised until the end of 1938, by which time Frau Meitner had been obliged by the *Anschluss* of Austria to emigrate to Sweden. From Stockholm she corresponded with Hahn and Strassmann and thereby maintained contact with the project, promoting it even by criticising new findings that were most improbable in energy terms After bombardment of uranium with what were called thermic (slow-speed) neutrons the lighter elements thorium, actinium and radium seemed to result.

But Hahn and Strassmann finally identified as a fission product what they had first thought to be radium. They had succeeded in splitting the uranium atom into two lighter atomic nuclei.

This accomplishment was remarkable, and not only because of the consequences of peaceful and military used of atomic energy, which was what they had unearthed.

Strassmann and Hahn were both strictly opposed to military use of nuclear power. But Strassmann was all in favour of its peaceful use provided adequate safety precautions were undertaken and highly qualified, well paid staff hired.

What was so remarkable about their discovery of how to split the atom was that it had not been planned or in any way predictable; it was strictly the result of unprejudiced and carefully repeated radiochemical and analytical experiments.

Physicists may have had some theoretical ideas on nuclear fission that subsequently enabled Lise Meitner and her nephew O. R. Frisch to explain the phenomenon..

But despite their scepticism about previous findings they had not been able to envisage nuclear fission in even the vaguest terms.

Thus it took chemical experiments to open up new vistas for nuclear physics, but these experiments were themselves the result of work undertaken jointly with a physicist, Frau Meitner.

So in 1966 all three were rightly awarded the Enrico Fermi Prize for work leading to the discovery of nuclear fission, whereas Hahn alone had been awarded the 1944 Nobel chemistry prize for discovering the fission of heavy nuclei.

Hahn later regretted having been singled out. He said Strassmann's contribution had been so substantial that they ought really to have shared the Nobel Prize.

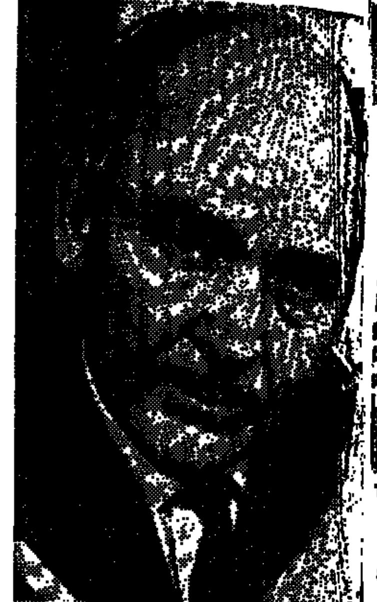
Fritz Strassmann was always sceptical about awards of this kind, feeling progress invariably depended on the work of others too, and he was never unduly keen to be honoured himself.

Only someone who had never met him could possibly suspect Strassmann of lamenting having missed out on a Nobel Prize. Yet such allegations had been made of late.

He would, on the other hand, have accepted the Nobel Prize if, like the Fermi Prize, it had been awarded to the entire Berlin research team.

He also gladly accepted freedom of the city of Mainz in 1972, taking it to be less a personal award than in recognition of his decades of work to restore Mainz University's academic credentials.

Mainz was his home for the longest period in his life. The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute was evacuated to Tailfingen in 1944 and between 1946 and 1949 re-established under his aegis in Mainz.



Fritz Strassmann (Photo: ...)

In mid-1945 he was awarded the ... of chemistry at Mainz University ... took over as head of the chemistry ... partment. At the same time he rem... head of chemistry at Tailfingen.

Negotiations in connection with ... re-establishment of the erstwhile K... Wilhelm, later Max Planck Institute ... Mainz continued until 1951.

From 1950 to 1953 he was an ac... mic member of the Max Planck Soc... and deputy director of its Mainz d... sion.

But in 1953 he pulled out of work ... the Max Planck Society to concentrate on his university department of ... nic and analytical chemistry and nuc... chemistry, which had thus far been ... lected by the university authorities.

The department's laboratories ...

Continued on page 9

Continued from page 8

... not completed until 1967, however, so he was no longer able to use them for research of his own.

But he concentrated mainly on teaching in any case, and in setting aside research on his own behalf he was able to wield and indelible influence on hundreds of young chemists who are now in industry, teaching and at university themselves.

This achievement may well rank alongside an individual accomplishment comparable with the discovery of nuclear fission. Fritz Strassmann certainly found fulfilment in teaching. *Fritz Krafft*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1980)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Probe into link between where you live and health

People in heavily built-up urban or industrial areas are sure to run the gauntlet of a wide range of environmental hazards both at work and at leisure, such as noise, exhaust fumes and dirt. Labour specialists, doctors and town planners are all keen to solutions to a healthier environment.

Hazards include traffic noise and exhaust fumes, industrial dust and regional climate changes, all directly affecting the health.

Some people also suffer from the continual constraints imposed by cramped accommodation or thin dividing walls between one apartment and the next.

In high-rise housing estates sheer isolation from the neighbours may likewise prove a problem. Its effect varies from one person to the next but a persistent feeling of uneasiness can prove devastating.

Lasting dissatisfaction can lead to serious physical and mental ill-health of a kind it is extremely difficult to shake off.

Research findings and patients' case histories demonstrate to doctors time and again the influence home, the domestic environment and work can have on health.

The Friedrich Thieding Foundation, associated with the Hartmannbund, a West German medical association, has paid special attention to these and related issues.

So has the Housing and Town and Country Planning Association. Between them these two sponsor periodic Bonn conferences on Building and Health.

They are held to show up links between the two and to make the public more keenly aware of the connection between pollution and ill-health.

Living Value, Leisure Value, Health Value — Urban Renewal in City Centres and Suburbs was the subject of the second Bonn conference.

Christian Farenholtz of the Housing and Development Association, Hamburg, was one of the speakers. He explained to non-planners in his audience what criteria he went by in his work.

From the start he put paid to any ideas of planning the ideal home or environment. Planning, he said, was strictly a means of standardising the requirements of the individual in an age of electronics.

These were demand, or what housing and areas were given market preference, and requirements, or the quality of home life society was prepared to allow the individual.

This was a matter of size and quality of the home, the kind of building, architectural standards and legal considerations.

Size and standards were requirements steadily increasing in keeping with prosperity. But reductions in the number of persons per housing unit had alarming town planning repercussions, for one.

A reduction in density from 2.2 to 2.1 persons per unit would, in relation to 700,000 apartments, necessitate the construction of 35,000 new homes.

Planning new estates or projects was certainly no less important (but no more so) than maintaining existing stock or clearing slums.

It is interesting to note that Farenholtz regarded the surrounds of housing units as part and parcel of slum clearance. He was keen to restore the social function of the street, for instance.

He concluded with an appeal not to rely on clear and prearranged solutions in dealing with cities, homes and people.

Another speaker, Hans-Wilhelm Gutacker of Doctors for Environmental Protection, Bonn, explained how environmental influences affected the health.

He specially referred to carbon monoxide, the molecules of which attract red blood corpuscles more than they attract oxygen molecules, with the result that body cells are inadequately supplied with oxygen.

Gutacker used graphs to show that the high carbon monoxide counts that occurred in Cologne's city centre during the rush hour were due to car exhaust fumes, not to domestic heating or industrial processes.

Dust particles less than a two-thousandth of a millimetre in diameter went clean through the bronchial tubes and into the fabric of the lungs, as it were, causing inflammation and a chemical reaction.

People who lived by a roadside in industrial areas where extra dust was precipitated by means of heavy traffic were more prone to lung cancer than others who lived in the countryside, Swiss statistics showed.

So in heavy-traffic areas parks are not only important as green lungs, or suppliers of oxygen, but also urgently needed to keep dust at bay.

At Frankfurt main railway station morning, noon and evening dust counts were 16,830, 18,310 and 17,640 particles per litre of air.

In a nearby park the corresponding figures were 3,260, 1,180 and 3,140 particles per litre.

Gutacker was particularly scathing in his comments on the Bonn local authorities. They knew better, he said, but persisted in giving planning permission for buildings that impeded ventilation of the narrow Rhine valley from side valleys and via winds that blew parallel to the river.

Karl Ganser of the Federal Town and Country Planning Research Institute, Bad Godesberg, based his argument on the hypothesis that city air no longer made the person who breathed it free; it made him ill.

Mental health in particular was in jeopardy in built-up areas. Mental disorders were frequently due to stress occasioned by the constraints of living in cramped confines.

In apartments that were too small there was no way in which members of the family could escape each other. Privacy was at a premium, especially as the least noise disturbed the neighbours.

Alterations to rented accommodation were usually prohibited. Many tenants were worried they could be served notice to quit at any time now that landlords could claim they needed apartments for their own use.

People were already regimented more than enough at work. Now they were beginning to be regimented at home too.

So for health reasons town and country planners ought, he surprisingly concluded, to aim at reducing population density and to persuade conurbation-dwellers to move out into the suburbs.

If only local authorities and regional planners cooperated in this relocation there need not necessarily be misdevelopment as a result.

There was then a platform debate between theorists and practitioners in which the latter ran rings round dreams of a humane living environment by pointing out that in reality economic yardsticks were the almost exclusive consideration. *Birgit Krummacher*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 May 1980)

High cost of damage from atmospheric pollution

Atmospheric pollution causes damage to property in the Federal Republic estimated at several billion deutschemarks a year, according to the Federal Environment Office, West Berlin.

This was the finding of a survey of the cost commissioned from Dortmund University department of environmental protection.

It tentatively costed atmospheric pollution damage to buildings and works of art, to materials, buildings, high-voltage wires and agriculture.

Damage to buildings was estimated at roughly DM2.5bn a year, material corrosion at between DM1bn and DM2bn a year and the cost to the individual of cleaning and maintenance at approximately DM730m per annum.

Yield and quality losses in agriculture were estimated to amount to DM125m a year or so.

But these figures did not take long-term ecological damage into account; they also paid no attention to the follow-up cost of health shortcomings.

According to an OECD estimate, however, the overall damage must be put at three to five per cent of GNP, annual losses of between DM40bn and DM70bn in Bonn's case.

The toll of historic monuments and works of art is particularly high. Comparison with turn-of-century photographs shows that environmental depredations have increased.

Essential repairs to Cologne Cathedral are costed at DM3m a year, plus DM60m to DM80m on facade renewal between now and the end of the century.

Statisticians count as part of the cost the extra expense conurbation-dwellers are put to by having to travel further to recreation areas.

For a city the size of Munich this extra cost item is estimated at DM67m a year. *rtr*

(Die Welt, 5 May 1980)



Rescue party at a decontamination point during the simulated nuclear fallout catastrophe at the Biblis nuclear power station. (Photo: dpa)

Nuclear fallout dummy run

It was emergency action stations at Biblis nuclear power station, the largest in Europe, over the first weekend in May when a fallout disaster was simulated.

In the first dummy run of its kind ever undertaken jointly by the emergency services of neighbouring *Länder*, there was assumed to have been a pipe burst in the A block reactor that knocked out the cooling system and led to nuclear fallout being emitted via the chimneystack.

There were communication difficulties between radiation experts whose job was to assess the fallout danger and members of staff whose chief previous concern with radioactivity had been from a deskbound vantage point.

Hesse's Lothar Bergmann put it this way: "There were not only pleasant surprises. We learnt a tremendous amount."

At Heppenheim operations centre in neighbouring Rhineland-Palatinate officials concluded that emergency planning was too theoretical at a number of junctures.

The general public were not included in this first major fallout exercise, and it was just as well. Problems arose from the start and all concerned agreed that further exercises were urgently needed.

Hesse Interior Minister Ekkehard Gries said the operation would not even have run as smoothly as it did if everyone concerned had not been given advance warning.

If fallout had been a fact as simulated, 50.000 people in Hesse and 10.000 in the Rhineland-Palatinate would have been in immediate danger of contamination.

They would not have learnt of their plight via radio and loudspeaker van for a good half hour after the alarm was sounded. What then might have happened was not simulated.

But operations commands came to the conclusion that civilians would need to be evacuated earlier than planned. At present even residents of Biblis know little more than that in an emergency they should return home and tune in to the radio. *dpa*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 May 1980)

■ EXHIBITIONS

Keeping the time all through the ages

The Bavarian National Museum is celebrating its 125th anniversary with an exhibition on The World as Clock.

From November, the "Clockwork Universe" will then be taken to America and shown in the Washington Museum of History and Technology.

The exhibits are priceless, but their insurance value is DM40m. Many of the more than 100 table clocks in the exhibition once belonged to German Kaisers, were stolen during the Thirty Years' War and dispersed all over the globe. Most of the 57 on loan come from abroad.

Some owners sent their clocks only on condition that they be restored or made to work again. So, long before the exhibition opened a goldsmith, a furniture restorer, a complex materials specialist and a clockmaker were working on the clock-faces and the clockwork.

An instrument maker was called in to help them get a trumpet clock built in 1582 by Hans Schlottheim going again.

The clock's music was reconstructed by mechanically simulating the sequence of tones with compressed air. The music was recorded and can be heard in the museum now, but the delicate clock remains safely under glass, the 11 little figures of a miniature court orchestra, the trumpeters trumpeting and the drummer playing a tiny drum.

Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, a great patron of the arts, gave this clock to Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria as a wedding present. These musical clocks were very popular ar court. Some could even be rolled over the table when they were being wound up.

The aim of the exhibition, however, is not just to show a collection of expensive timepieces and princely toys. The artistic table clocks made in Germany between 1550 and 1650 were also symbols of their age, the period of the Reformation: early status symbols, ideals of harmony and order in a divided society, allegories of man, the state and the world — and furthermore the most impressive works of engineering before the invention of the steam engine.

Clockmakers helped develop steering mechanisms for cannon bore mills and mine drainage systems.

German master clockmakers, especially in the free towns in the south, were leaders in this technology which used the principle of escapement and later elastic springs instead of weights (until Galilei, then almost blind, designed the first pendulum as regulator in 1637).

The history of these clockmakers, mostly protestants, is well known and documented in the city and guild archives. (Now also exhaustively documented in the thorough catalogue of the Munich and Washington exhibitions.)

We read for example that in 1611 Archduke Ferdinand of Austria gave the Augsburg miniature clockmaker and mayor's son Georg Fronmiller, 25 guilders as payment "for a clock inside a tortoise shell."

Two examples of this tortoiseshell clock still exist, one in the Vienna Museum of Art History, the other in the Hesse Land Museum in Darmstadt, which loaned the clock for the exhibition.

The tortoise shell clock moves, the tortoise's head goes backwards and forwards and on its shell it bears a rider whose arms also move.

Fronmiller, who also worked in France, in Italy, at the court of the Elector in Cologne and at the Prague court, was imprisoned for murder in Augsburg in 1616 and then exiled for 10 years.

Archduke Ferdinand, later to become Kaiser, had vainly tried to have Fronmiller pardoned and later appointed him court clockmaker in Vienna.

No one knows who invented the clockwork clock as first seen about 1320 on church towers.

Peter Henlein, born in 1480 produced the famous Nuremberg Egg, a pocket watch which sold in its thousands, but he is not such an important figure in the history of clockmaking as the school text books once made him out to be. His 500th anniversary this year has virtually been ignored.

Artistic clocks made in Germany were a popular export article right into the baroque.

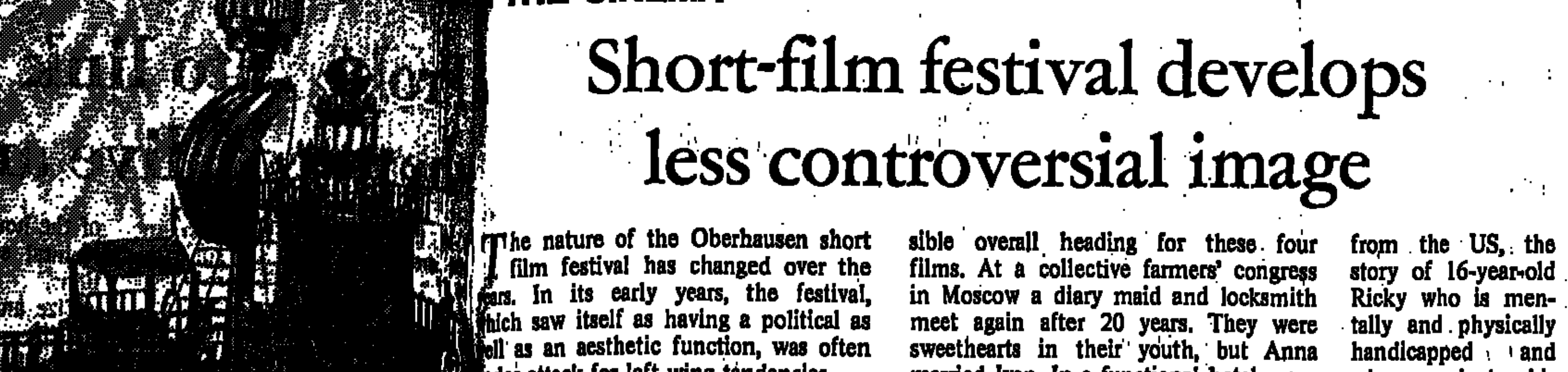
The Vienna court and other princely houses sent all kinds of clocks with moving figures, some with oriental motifs, to Turkish sultans — in the hope that the gifts would placate them and make them think twice about attacking them.

Jesuits brought the tiny machines to China as a kind of advertisement for the Christian West. Those who could make such objects, they argued must have the better faith.

Our industrial fairs today no doubt a similar purpose.

Rarely have beauty and mechanical precision been so successfully combined as in these clocks.

Their main function was not that of telling the time. Earlier systems, such as sand, sun, water and fire clocks were much more accurate and continued to be used, even up to today, the age of digital and atomic clocks. And of course clocks were often disguised as vases, columns or mirrors. The variety of the "indications" is certainly compatable with our multi-function clocks. One Nuremberg figure clock, for instance, told not only the hours and the minutes but also the date, the saint's day, months, signs of the zodiac, length of day and night. It also had an alarm and a procession of Bacchi with tiny enamel figures. Another master produced a kind of stop-watch. In about 1585 Josef Bürgi of Kassel, the most brilliant clockmaker of them all, constructed a clock which only needed winding once every three months.



Late 16th century clock from southern Germany. (Photos: ...)

Hans Buschmann of Augsburg made for Duke August of Braunschweig a table-clock crowned with a sphere which was meant to go for a whole year. A clock-maker later called in to repair it found that it was rather "sleepy."

Another clock by an unknown master even told the days on which the planets were favourable to blood-letting.

The highpoint of clockmaking was the complicated and artistic planetariums and heavenly globes. The Thirty Years' War brought all this fine work to an aprupt end.

Wilhelm IV, landgrave of Hesse, always took with him on his travels a 56 cm globe made by Eberhard Baldewein of Marburg — so that he could work out the longitude and latitude of the fixed stars. Dr Klaus Maurice, organiser of the Munich exhibition and one of the world's leading experts on clocks, persuaded a private owner in London to lend this globe for the Munich exhibition. "It is the same with the world as with the clock", wrote Christian Wolff. This is the motto of the exhibition. The clock became a model: the cogwheels were seen as the parts of the universe, the hands were the events and changes in the world. According to the *Zeitgeist*, everything in life could be ordered and regulated like clockwork. Animals and human beings were also seen in these terms. Automatic figures known as androids were produced. Their souls were of clockwork in a sense; they were the first robots.



Josef Bürgi's clock, made in about 1585, which needed winding only every three months.

Some of these clocks represent lions being lashed on the stroke of every hour. Others mark the hours by the opening of Mary's crown or the baby Jesus winking. This many seem naïve, embarrassing or even blasphemous to the modern mind.

Scenes with moving animals are most charming, especially when accompanied by music. We see whole prides of lions about to pounce. A unicorn scratches its foot on the ground, a camel pulls its driver's chain, birds lift their wings. The animal as a soulless, programmed machine — as in the revolutionary physiology of Descartes and his followers.

The mechanistic age regarded the clock, with its order and regularity, the model of the perfect, authoritarian state. Kepler spoke of the "heavenly machine" which was not a divine being but a clock.

Frederick the Great wished that a state based on these rules would be like a clock." And his friend Voltaire quite consistently saw God as a clockmaker.

The thinkers of the Romantic age overthrew this rigid world view. Later Marx said: "Smash the state machine!" And in the film *Modern Times* Chaplin gets disastrously caught up in the machine.

We now know that men can change an order. Concept such as freedom and control (programming) take on a new aspect when seen in the historical context.

The Munich clock exhibition provided the background for discussion of the origins of the mechanistic view of the world, cultural control systems and influence from outside on science.

There was also a contemporary political rather than philosophical aspect to the exhibition.

At a museum conference, the director general of the Bavarian National Museum could not resist making some anti-marxist sideswipes.

The GDR and the USSR ...

not sending the exhibits they promised and which are listed in the catalogue.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 30 April 1980)

THE CINEMA

Short-film festival develops less controversial image

The nature of the Oberhausen short film festival has changed over the years. In its early years, the festival, which saw itself as having a political as well as an aesthetic function, was often under attack for left-wing tendencies.

There were even threats to cut essential subsidies from Bonn and the *Länder*. This did not deter the organisers from uncompromisingly pursuing their course.

However, in recent years the controversy had died down, not because the organisers have changed their policies but because the role and importance of the short film has changed.

In recent years, Oberhausen and the films shown there have become less politically controversial. Last year was the nadir. This year, though, there has been a welcome recovery. The programme contained a number of lively films.

The selection committee is to thank here. It abandoned the traditional method of choosing films from various countries, concentrating instead on thematic aspects.

There were only two cases in which subject and nationality could be combined: in films from West Germany and the Soviet Union.

The collage and montage film *Operation FDGO* (FDGO is short for "free, democratic basic order") takes a satirical sideswipe at the alarming restriction of democratic rights in the fight against terrorism and the call for a strong man from Bavaria.

Then there is the very subjective account of a driver who, hearing a radio announcement, suddenly and impulsively decided to take a *Trip to Enkenbach* to the grave of an alleged terrorist. As a result he gets entangled in the strange hysteria of the terrorist manhunt.

Gipsies in Duisburg is a grim social documentary on gipsies who, after surviving Nazi concentration camps, are again pursued and persecuted as an undesirable minority.

Taken together these three films give a lively picture of West Germany today.

Roswitha Ziegler's film could fit in neatly into this subject. Entitled *Vom Himmel fall ich auf die Erde und merke, dass ich schwerer werde*, it tells of a training firm practising economic manoeuvres, a programmer programming apparently abstruse truths. An entire system is systematically and consistently reduced to absurdity.

Following her documentary on Gorleben, the proposed site of a huge atomic power complex, Roswitha Ziegler has produced an intellectually brilliant science-fiction satire in which the real and the unreal, dream and reality intermingle.

The viewer, at first bemused, gradually begins to find his way about in this filmic labyrinth, only to find at the end that this feeling of security is a delusion.

In recent years lively and realistic documentary films have often been shown, replacing the stiff, bureaucratically self-satisfied too overtly didactic or propaganda-filled film. The four Soviet films shown at Oberhausen were all superb and the festival was lucky to be able to show them. The two best of these could not be considered for prizes by the international jury as they had already won prizes elsewhere.

Reports about People would be a possible overall heading for these four films. At a collective farmers' congress in Moscow a diary maid and locksmith meet again after 20 years. They were sweethearts in their youth, but Anna married Ivan. In a functional hotel room Anna and Nikolai relive the past.

Anna has become a self-reliant, independent woman. Nikolai ist the same as ever, and makes a few thoughtless remarks which cast a shadow over their meeting. A very private story attains general significance by being put into the context of contemporary history.

The cartoon *Das Märchen von den Märchen* is a tale of childhood during the war. The happy life in the country is abruptly brought to an end, the huts nailed up, the country deserted. The wolf prowls lonely through the area, in a wood fire it roasts potatoes and burns its paws. Then people come back again but the happy dance is interrupted, the men go off to war, sad news comes back from the front, the firework of happiness turns to gunfire, fear, panic, flight, the wolf lulls the child, which it has rescued, in the cradle, sings a lullaby of the wicked wolf that steals the child.

Juri Norstein has told recent history artistically and imaginatively, capturing the fear and the hope, the tragedy and the fullness of life poetically.

Such unity was hardly to be found among the other films at the festival, except perhaps the women's films about Bolivia, Peru and Columbia. Women in the Third World have a very hard time of it: although in most cases they bear the main burden of life and do the hardest work, they have no rights.

The women filmmakers whose work was shown at Oberhausen produced convincing and lively documentaries about the plight of these women. There were also a number of remarkable films from Latin America and other Third World countries dealing with the immediate past such as the anonymous *News from Chile*, about the struggle in the underground, protests, hunger strikes and other activities.

Short imaginative films such as the already mentioned Soviet film *Meeting* and the bizarre but poetically beautiful Hungarian film, A *Purple Sail in the Distance* have characterised the Oberhausen festival in recent years.

The prize winning film at the festival was *Board and Care*, by Ron Ellis from the US, the story of 16-year-old Ricky who is mentally and physically handicapped and who, against his father's will, goes to a special school where he meets and falls in love with Lila, a pupil at the school who is also mongoloid. The "normal" world steps in to put an abrupt stop to this budding relationship; their happiness is destroyed. Conventions here bar "the way to the neighbour."

Heiko R Blum

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 April 1980)



A scene from 'Gipsies in Duisburg'. (Photo: Westdeutsche Kurzfilmtage Oberhausen)

Franz Josef Strauss's leading role in 'Der Kandidat'

Franz Josef Strauss, the Shadow Chancellor, is the star of a film, *Der Kandidat*, which had its premiere this month in West German cinemas.

But he is a reluctant star. The CSU did everything it could to make life difficult for the camera team. On three occasions it was refused permission to film and once it was thrown out of an election meeting.

The film is a joint effort by four directors: Stefan Aust, Alexander von Eschwege, Alexander Kluge and Volker Schlöndorff. Their political commitment firmly stamps this film, a critical look at West Germany in the run up to the general election this autumn.

This film is unique in its own way. It aims not only to document 30 years of Franz Josef Strauss's career but, through him, to look back at the political history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Strauss's appearances are part of Germany present, an expression of West German political culture.

Strauss's past is closely and critically examined:...his rise under Adenauer's Chancellorship to the post of Minister of Defence; the affairs and scandals in which he was involved: Fibag, the Starfighter, the Spiegel Affair).

His fall in the sixties, his political comeback — all this is documented in detail.

But this is not the strength of the film. Strauss's past is shown mainly through old newsreel material, which is strangely pale. These newsreel images do not give *Der Kandidat* the contours the filmmakers want to give him.

The strength of the film is undoubtedly those parts which describe the social and political environment in which Strauss could become the CDU/CSU's candidate for the Chancellorship.

Here the four directors produce images of concentrated and oppressive intensity: at the CSU's Ash Wednesday meeting in Passau in Bavaria, at the Airmen's Ball in Karlsruhe (where at the same time the Ecologists are holding a conference) or following president Carstens on his ramble through West Germany.

The image of Germany these pictures give force us to ask: is this the kind of state in which we want to live?

The film's weakness is its failure to provide a satisfactory answer. Franz Josef Strauss is not solely responsible for this country's political culture. Certainly he is one of the main actors on the political stage — and also one of the most talented, a persuasive, able wielder of language, as the film shows.

But to restrict our political culture to Franz Josef Strauss, to concentrate on him alone, is to make him what he must not be; the political super-figure of this country.

This is to do *Der Kandidat* too great an honour.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 April 1980)

The four directors of 'Der Kandidat', (from left) Volker Schlöndorff, Stefan Aust, Alexander Kluge and Alexander von Eschwege (Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

■ SOCIETY

Birth control booklet stirs hornets' nest

A booklet on methods of birth control has unleashed a familiar furore in Bavaria. Education minister Hans Maier has banned its distribution in schools. A CSU city councillor in Munich even wants to ban it being distributed in leisure centres in the city. The FDP and SPD are in favour of the booklet.

The booklet, entitled *Muss-Ehen muss es nicht geben,* was produced for the Ministry of Health by the National Health Education Centre.

The booklet's opponents decry it as "soft porn" which "clearly oversteps the limits of tolerance." They fear it is detrimental to "a positive attitude towards marriage and the family."

The supporters of the booklet are appalled at the "hypocritical, sanctimonious, shambolic and inhibited way in which leading sections of the CSU have dealt with sex education for years."

The booklet is clear and precise in its explanations and illustrations. It is, so to speak, clinically clean and practical, with no trace of the raised finger of moral indignation or of voyeurism. It is precisely this level-headed clarity which worries the booklet's opponents. They say clarity can cause anxieties.

The booklet's prefaces points out some unpleasant facts: in 1977 2,000 16-year-olds got pregnant, 375 15-year-olds, 62 14-year-olds and 10 girls under 13.

Statistics show that most young people now have their first sexual experiences before the age of 18. Other statistics show that more bastards are born in Bavaria than any other *Land.*

But still the fronts remain immoveable. This example is typical of all the conflicts in which opponents and advocates of sex education have been involved. It was true 18 years ago, when the Berlin education minister produced Guidelines for Sex Education in Berlin Schools and it is true at the moment, as the Bavarian *Landtag* debates law on sex education.

For years, parents from all parts of the country have gone to court over this issue — for the good of their children, they said. Even the Federal Constitutional Court has had to pass judgments.

The slogans bandied about in this debate are: the rights of parents, the school's right to educate, biological facts, the development of the personality, information, protection, objectivity, shame, tolerance.

Anyone who believes there is a tidy patent recipe to solve this conflict is backing a loser.

The interests of those involved, the parents and the children, are too different. There are parents who object to outside educators because they want to have the sole right to educate their children in all important areas.

How boring. Tell us instead about the birds and the bees.
(Cartoon: Horst Haitzinger / ...)

There are parents who do not object to influences from outside because they are realistic and there are others who do not mind because they do not really care.

There are children who discuss many things with their parents because they trust them; there are children who obey their parents because they are afraid of them; there are children who do not talk about many things with their parents because they do not trust them enough — there are others who prefer to keep quiet because they find this easier; and so on, and so forth.

A large number of parents either do not explain or do not fully explain the facts of life to their children, but 90 per cent of parents approve of schools giving sex education.

Trust in the schools in this area seems great — but the real crux comes in practice.

The Federal Constitutional Court judges have distinguished between the "teaching of objective basic sexual facts" and "sexual education in the true sense", which is a part of the education of the personality. This is the dilemma: the limits are blurred, and each teacher is left to cope with the problem as best he can.

Education of independent, responsible human beings is hardly conceivable without sex education — and vice-versa. Teachers should not ideologise or indoctrinate. They should take into account the religious or philosophical views of the parents.

But what happens when it is precisely the parents who indoctrinate their children and teach them intolerance towards those with other viewpoints?

The teacher can hardly do his job properly without his own basic set of values, yet he is expected to be prudent, to practise and teach tolerance. According to the draft Bavarian guidelines, the teacher must "inculcate in the pupil a sense of the importance of marriage and the family for the permanence of human relations and of personal and the state community."

In teaching sex education, teachers have to perform wonders which remind one of the clever peasant's daughter in the Brothers Grimm fairy tale: she was given the difficult task of getting to her king "not naked and not dressed, not riding on horse or in vehicle, not on the way and not off the way."

It is in the nature of things that the parents who deny the school's right to give sex education are the most vociferous and cause the most problems in practice. The Maria Goretti Circle ... varia, for example, is a very ... tive group of zealots which ... sure, indulges in vituperations ... all such groups, does not look ... but contents itself with ... such as neo-pagans and the ... of a world which probably never existed.

The following is an extract from ... ter to an MP: "Do you not ... moral teachings of your childhood ... wide fairy-tale world of delightful ... sies/One felt the security of a ... intact world/And school was only ... learning."

The typical things about ... extremely conservative people is ... soon as emotional positions are ... on, they rage against symptoms ... fects; causes seem unpleasant and ... tening to them.

Those who, against their will, ... to deal with these causes, become ... butts of vituperation.

In the case of technological ... things are different: there are many ... so children need road safety ... Here, knowledge means safety and ... is no argument. However, because ... are so many unwanted pregnancies ... need sex education; because there ... many backroom abortions, we need ... form of the law; because so many ... hers go to work (have to go to work ... need full day schools and crèches; ... cause families are not always what ... would wish them to be, we need ... amendment to the law on parental ...

But these arguments will get ... nowhere with these people. They ... not fit into their world view.

These people then argue that ... tempts to solve these problems ... couragements to children ... against their parents, to mothers ... lect their children, to women ... abortions and to youngsters ... and unrestrainedly to indulge in ... intercourse.

What is going on?

In many discussions and talks ... got the impression that as soon as ... tional values are touched on, and ... cially in matters of sexuality, a ... seated conflict comes to the ... Anxieties are aroused having to ... marriage, family, security, order ... brief with the picture people ... think they have formed for ... human coexistence. The more fixed ... position, the more threatening ... change must seem. The clearer ...

Continued on page 13

■ HEALTH

Group seeks to improve recovery rates of alcoholics

There is an aura of success about Dr Helmut Brammer. The expensive watch on his wrist and the way he dresses smack more of the successful advertising man than a country doctor in Lower Saxony's Diepholz.

The impression is not all that wrong. Dr Brammer is indeed successful, he earns plenty of money and his family life is in order. But he is ill. Dr Helmut Brammer is an alcoholic.

Sprawled in an easy chair in the meeting room of "Sorral" (the acronym stands for *Soziales Rehabilitations- und Resozialisierungszentrum für Alkoholkranke* (or social rehabilitation centre for alcoholics), a glass of fruit juice in his hand, Dr Brammer makes an all-encompassing gesture: "It took us less than a week to arrange all this."

"Us" means 17 volunteers, all but one alcoholics.

Sorral was founded to help the 6,000 or so alcoholics in the Diepholz district and to provide an organisational umbrella for such groups as Alcoholics Anonymous and similar rehabilitation movements.

Dr Brammer has been practising medicine in Diepholz since 1974, and he was startled at the great number of alcoholics among his patients. One of them was a retired cobbler who founded a contact group for alcoholics.

Dr Brammer: "His success was amazing considering that the average rehabilitation rate is 30 per cent. He managed to rehabilitate 76 per cent of his group members."

Alcoholism cuts down our GNP by DM32bn a year.

Professor Hans-Werner Janz, a member of the scientific committee of the German Centre to Combat Addiction, estimates that some eight million Germans are either alcoholics or in danger of becoming addicted.

"It has not yet been generally realised that alcoholics are not morally depraved outsiders of society but fellow citizens suffering from an illness and needing our help," says Professor Janz.

Dr Brammer: "I lived with the bottle for 21 years and have made three suicide attempts. I have been fired from hospital jobs; I've been in jail and once, while drunk, I shot at a policeman."

He had sunk so low as to be faced with the alternative of either getting off the bottle or going to the dogs.

He became an alcoholic at the age of 12. It all started at the golden wedding celebration of his grandparents when he and other children drank up what remained in the guests' glasses.

"I was the only one who had drunk himself into a stupor — and I didn't want to come out of it."

Brammer is one of those rare cases where loss of control sets in from the very beginning. As a rule, it takes an average of 16 years of imbibing before a person becomes an alcoholic.

Brammer's father, himself a doctor, failed to notice anything for many years. Today, Brammer is at a loss to understand how he managed to get through school and university.

While at medical school he drank a bottle of brandy a day: "I had hallucinations, I heard voices and in the end I even tried to run away from my own shadow."

His flight from reality ended in the gutter. Faced with the choice of a meal in the university cafeteria or a drink, he invariably opted for the drink.

He only managed to graduate with the help of drugs for which he stole the presciptions from his father.

Eventually, Brammer managed to become a doctor. But he stayed on the bottle and suffered all the indignities that go with it. When visiting a patient he was told by the relatives to leave because he reeked of liquor and was too drunk to find the instruments in his bag. Several attempts to overcome the affliction failed and his family was on the verge of breaking up.

Alcoholics usually lie to themselves and are almost never prepared to admit that they are ill; and they do not remember what they did while drunk.

Brammer, who now does research work on alcoholism, remembers the story of a German soldier who was to have been sent to hospital for drying out. He brought himself a case of beer, got into his car and drove north. That was all he could remember when he came out of his stupor three days later and found himself in Helsinki, Finland.

Brammer's own shock came when he found himself in the intensive care unit of a hospital. His wife had found him lying unconscious in the bathroom: drunk and full of drugs.

The shock was his salvation because it made him join Alcoholics Anonymous, where he managed to stay on the wagon.

Dr Brammer says: "Alcoholism, like any other addiction, is incurable. You can suspend the disease but you cannot stop it. Like a diabetic, I am subject to a strict diet. In my case the recipe is: not a drop of liquor".

Now, more than five years later, Dr Brammer still has to discipline himself. At parties he no longer says that he cannot take any liquor because of an upset stomach. Instead, he is absolutely frank, telling everybody that he is an alcoholic and that the smallest sip would set him off again.

Dr Brammer is now 38 and has come to grips with his illness. Although he could easily cover up, he makes no bones about being an alcoholic. And since he is honest to himself he feels that there is no need to be otherwise with his medical colleagues, many of whom are themselves alcoholics.

But even worse, as he sees it, is the ignorance of many doctors about the disease. He criticises those of his colleagues who try to cure the affliction with drugs of lethal malpractice. Many alcoholics, he says in an article published recently in a medical journal, thus become addicted to drugs on top of their addiction to alcohol.

Dr Brammer is against too many programmes and projects to combat alcoholism because he holds that this leads to a fragmentation of the effort.

Sorral is intended as a municipal project and so successful has the organisation been that it collected DM20,000 in donations (mostly from businessmen) within four months. So far, not a penny of public money has gone into Sorral coffers.

Dr Brammer says about his organisation: "People are less embarassed to talk to us about their problem than to a doctor."

Sorral's next goal is to establish regular consultation centres throughout the district. Dr Brammer wants to devote particular attention to juvenile alcoholics.

Recently, he managed to have the authorities shut down a secret children's dirnking club in Diepholz. But there is no telling whether they will continue drinking elsewehere.

"Our true objective is to make our organisation redundant," he says.

Niels N. von Haken

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 27 April 1980)

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change, the more desperate the efforts to resist it. It must be fatiguing to have to ban all around one and above all oneself from thinking

It is certainly no accident that the same people who so violently oppose sex education also oppose other emancipatory moves. In the extreme case, they even oppose the democratic constitution.

In a letter to me, someone wrote: "Freedom + love = democracy = pornocracy. Cursed be Satan and his modern democratic cows!"

There is no doubt that rejection of any new orientation is being expressed increasingly loudly. The attempt to make liberalism, emancipation and change ridiculous and contemptible, and even brand them as being in some way "unnatural" cannot be ignored. This subject will become increasingly important — despite the fear of war, the shortage of energy and the destruction of the environment.

It remains to be seen whether the discussion can be made sober and objective. One thing is sure: government and parliament will in that case breathe a sigh of relief and pass on to the order of the day.

Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen

(The authoress is an FDP city councillor in Munich. Ed)

(Die Zeit, 2 May 1980)

Thumbs down for drug substitute

Methadone, a drug widely used to combat drug addiction, has come under fire.

Professor Wolfram Keup, a psychiatrist and addiction expert says: "The best way to explain the problem to the layman is to point out that if Germany embarked on a methadone programme it would be the same as if the state tried to wean an alcoholic from beer by giving him brandy."

The controversy over methadone was sparked recently when Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum returned from a trip to the United States and said that he was impressed by American efforts to cure addiction with methadone. Though German doctors and other experts oppose the use of the drug, the dispute has now shifted to a political plane.

Federal and local governments are making an all-out effort to combat drug addiction and the crime wave that goes with it. This was prompted by public opinion in the wake of ever rising drugs deaths.

Having stood by idly as addiction spread from year to year, there is suddenly feverish activity in Bonn and the *Land* assemblies. But it will take some time before the ambitious projects to combat addiction can be realised.

Meanwhile, our prisons are overcrowded with addicts and pushers and psychiatric wards can no longer cope. Police efforts are futile because neither prison wardens nor hospitals want to accept addicts.

This being so, the substitute drug methadone appears to many as a cure-all.

Professor Keup, who worked in the United States from 1958 to 1971, says: "I fear that we are about to repeat the mistakes the Americans have made."

According to him, the methadone project has failed pitifully in America. This applies particularly to the distribution of the drug to heroin addicts.

The whole thing started in 1964 when a tide of addiction swept America. Enforced therapy proved unsuccessful, says Professor Keup, and the American government decided to combat the problem by issuing methadone. The aim was to reduce crime by addicts desperate for drugs.

"Apart from methadone, which only few heroin addicts accepted as a substitute, more and more of these people took to liquor and other drugs to increase the effects of methadone. As a result, original heroin addicts became multi-drug addicts."

Hospitals that insisted on total drug abstinence opposed the methadone protagonists whom they called "cheap competition". In fact, the methadone project has never really worked, according to Professor Keup.

To start with, only 10 to 15 per cent of heroin addicts switched to methadone and only very few reached the second phase of cutting down on methadone and finally laying off it altogether and becoming socially integrated.

So rarely has the final objective been achieved, says Professor Keup, that the experiment can only be termed a total failure.

Though methadone addicts are capable of holding a job, many have become so used to being looked after by the state that they no longer want to work.

"Not only is the programme useless but the administrative and follow-up costs make it extremely expensive," he says.

Professor Keup, opposes any kind of substitute drug.

The course of action recommended by him is opposed by many politicians. He holds that there is no other way than to establish closed institutions for those who do not want to undergo therapy voluntarily.

"These institutions should not be prisons but they must be absolutely sealed off. The atmosphere must be humane and addicts must be given a chance to prove that their affliction is curable. All this requires a lot of work. And it is expensive, but it is the only humane solution. The methadone approach is crazy."

Claudia Dillmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1980)

■ CRIME

Allegations of Mafia involvement in large-scale offences

The Mafia were promptly blamed when a steel doorway at Bendahl prison, Wuppertal, was blown off its hinges in a recent bomb blast, enabling four convicts to make their getaway.

Public prosecutor Bachmann openly laid the blame on a gang of Italians known as the Wuppertal Mafia.

The original Mafia were an 18th century Southern Italian secret society run on patriarchal lines to make money from violence and blackmail.

The name is now used all over the world to denote strictly disciplined gang crime, and there has lately been increasing talk of the Mafia having established themselves in West Germany.

Pundits disagree only as to whether bona fide Mafiosi are associated with the increase in Germany's recorded crime, with the Bundeskriminalamt, Wiesbaden, discounting any such idea:

"There are no definite indications of the Mafia having set up branches or bases in the Federal Republic. Abduction and blackmail are the two classical Mafia modes of operation and there is no basis for either in this country."

Frankfurt public prosecutor Adelheid Werner, a woman who knows her way around organised crime, does not agree for a moment:

"The Mafia are heavily committed here. In Frankfurt at least there is unmistakeable evidence of either Mafia activity or the work of gangs organised along Mafia lines."

Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich and other cosmopolitan West German cities nowadays boast as almost routine categorics crimes that are still very much the exception elsewhere.

They include drug trafficking on a large scale, art robbery to order, internationally organised theft of, say, furs and illegal wholesale arms dealing ranging from pistols to anti-aircraft batteries.

Then there is car theft along strictly run marketing lines, with models in demand being stolen and given a new look, engine and chassis number at garages in the gang's pay.

There are jewellery thefts in accordance with international plans and prostitution similarly run internationally, with women being kept on the move from city to city and country to country as required by the market.

"Gangs are strictly run and professionally organised," says Frau Werner. "Their activities extend from one country to another. Crime is managed in a businesslike manner.

"The management, often under the cover of being harmless businessmen, are on a par with white-collar criminals in both intelligence and professional skills."

Take Frankfurt, for instance, where gangs have links extending to Milan, Rome, Marseilles, Amsterdam and the Middle East. Arms, art, furs, jewellery and de luxe cars are the most popular categories of stolen goods.

Frau Werner's department recently collaborated with the Milan police to put paid to the activities of a gang of car thieves. Its headquarters were in Milan, the procurement department was in Frankfurt.

The gang had 50 members, including 20 to 30 drivers who were continually en route shipping stolen cars from Germany to Syria via Turkey.

Mercedes, Porsche and BMW models were the gang's speciality. They were given a new look in the gang's own garage. Log books and other papers were forged but next to never gave trouble at borders.

"Chassis and engine numbers are erased and fresh numbers stamped with such perfection nowadays that the forgery can only been seen on close scrutiny," says Frau Werner.

At least 30 cars a month were driven from Germany via the Balkans and Turkey to Syria under orders from the gang's Milan headquarters.

Via Interpol the Bundeskriminalamt has had loopholes plugged on the Turkish and Syrian borders, so this gang's activities have now been brought to an end.

But the flow of de luxe cars to the Middle East is uninterrupted, having merely been rerouted to use other channels and other border crossing points.

As long as Interpol is unable to give transit countries a specific tip-off the border crossing arrangement runs like clockwork.

Whenever the going gets too hot on the lucrative runs to Aleppo and Damascus, gangs switch to domestic business, buying relatively new cars written off in crashes and deregistering them with the authorities.

Log books and other papers do not have to be surrendered when a car is deregistered. "That," says Frau Werner, "is a legal loophole that plays straight into car thieves' hands."

A painstaking path to police successes

So once the smashed-up cars have been sold for scrap a matching car can be stolen.

Periodic spectacular successes such as the break-up of the Frankfurt-Milan gang are the result of patience and discipline, smuggling contacts or even police officers into the gangs, bugging and telephone tapping and, especially, international cooperation.

Enquiries abroad must, officially, be conducted time-wastingly via the Bundeskriminalamt and Interpol. But specialists such as Frau Werner occasionally dial direct to their opposite numbers in Rome, Paris or Marseilles when the scent is hot.

Gangs operating in West Germany, certainly the first-rate operations, are organised along strict business lines. "There are bosses, a middle management and the other ranks," says Frau Werner.

Can this hierarchy be compared with the Mafia in Italy or the United States? It is hard to say. It is even harder to establish links between organised crime in West Germany and the classical Mafia.

The Bundeskriminalamt reckons the likelihood of bona fide Mafia branches having been opened in Germany is negligible. Since 1975, when Paolo Lippera, an Italian barber, was charged with murdering Joseph Tudic, a Yugoslav gangster, Frau Werner has been convinced the Mafia are at work in Frankfurt.

Lippera was certainly sent to Frankfurt by the Mafia to rub out Tudic. When he arrived, by plane, "cash, girls and an apartment" were ready and waiting for him, claims Frau Werner.

As soon as he had carried out his mission he was flown straight out and housed in a villa in Nice on the French Riviera that is owned by a Mafia boss.

His contact person was an ice skating queen. He was eventually arrested in Rome. When he was tried in a Frankfurt court the Mafia worked behind the scenes on his behalf, intimidating prosecution witnesses.

He was given a 10-year sentence but soon deported to Italy. "Lippera had outstanding logistics at his disposal in Frankfurt," Frau Werner says. "He was able to rely on fellow-countrymen living in Frankfurt who obey the Mafia."

Narcotics, the classic field of activity of the US Mafia, is firmly controlled in West Germany by a category of gangs closely resembling the Sicilian Mafia in structure, specialists claim.

Drug running is controlled by Turkish and Kurdish extended families run on patriarchal Godfather lines. These clans are as silent as the grave, obeying the Mafia principle of *omerta*, or unbending silence, so it is hard to *make headway* against them.

Contacts cannot, for obvious reasons, be smuggled into their membership. "Extended families are much more dangerous than conventional gangs in their criminal potential," says Frau Werner.

"As soon as they smell a rat they fight for survival with all means, fair or foul." The clans certainly boast criminal energy and an iron determination to take the family to the top.

They are so well motivated that strictly organised gangs have imposed a stranglehold on the narcotics market in a matter of years.

"Small fry, and not even local gangs only, no longer count for much in West Germany. "The Turkish and Kurdish clans have even succeeded in extending their activities to the US market," claims Frau Werner. "From Frankfurt large quantities of drugs are shipped to the States."

There is talk of the Mafia whenever organised crime hits the headlines. Occasionally it is warranted, but for the most part fears are grossly exaggerated.

"In the Federal Republic a kind of parallel organisation has been set up alongside the Mafia," says Frau Werner. The Godfather's place has been taken by the gang boss.

He is a much less bloodthirsty figure and both arranges for less shooting and cuts a less patriarchal figure. But he can fairly lay claim to a greater share of criminal intelligence and is conversant with conditions in a number of countries.

His West German-style Mafia is slightly different from Cosa Nostra but is proving just as tough a customer from the police's point of view.

Walter Gutermuth

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 April 1980)

■ SPORT

Ballooning flies high on winds of a comeback

Helium and hot-air balloons have really come into their own again in West Germany over the past couple of decades, with the hot-air variety making a comeback over the past five years or so.

There are 25 ballooning clubs, including four in Baden-Württemberg. These four are in Stuttgart, Freiburg, Tuttlingen and Mannheim. Even balloon expoerts agree that that is probably enough.

Air space is strictly limited. Commercial aviation accounts for only 15 per cent of flight movements. Then come private planes and gliders, parachute jumpers and kite flyers, or hang glider fans.

So balloon take-offs have to be notified in advance and a balloon's position must be radioed to a control tower at regular intervals.

At Echterdingen airport once all landings and take-offs had to be scrapped for three quarters of an hour because of a balloon that had strayed into airport air space.

Yet more and more people are attracted by these old-timers of aviation. They are extremely romantic, and each flight is a mystery tour.

"You never can tell what is going to happen. Ballooning is a challenge to your sense of adventure, your feeling of communion with nature.

"It is a wonderful feeling up in the air at the mercy of the wind. It's really thrilling. But I'm afraid I really must come down to earth again," says Ernst Wieland, 67.

He is the oldest of Stuttgart's 34 balloon pilots but all of them, aged from 8 to 70, are equally enthusiastic, even though the youngest cannot peer over the edge of the basket.

The club has two gas balloons that can only be filled in Augsburg. Hot-air balloons are more mobile; they can take off anywhere, in theory.

In practice Stuttgart balloonists are only allowed to take off from two launching pads, at Schwieberdingen, near Ludwigsburg, and Albertshausen, near Göppingen. When the bus and trailer drive into Albertshausen everyone in the village knows what lies ahead. The children run down the main street and across the meadows to the launching pad.

The basket is manhandled into position and the balloon laid out flat on the glass. A common or garden ventilator pumps it full of its 2,300 cubic metres of air.

Propane fills the gaily coloured balloon with life and before long it is aloft, attached to the basket by ropes and snaphooks like the ones used by mountaineers.

"Let's see where north is," says one of the balloonists and pulls a compass out of his pocket. The air inside the balloon is hot, over 100 degrees centigrade. There has to be an 80-degree difference between inside and out before the balloon can take off.

The crew of three are not spoilt for space in the cramped basket. They stand beside equipment including four propane cylinders (and twin burners above their heads), veriometers, thermometers and altimeters.

There is also a bottle of *Sekt*, or German sparkling wine, for beginners. Tradition has it that beginners must singe their hair and have the flames put out by a bottle of bubbly.

The pilot is given final words of encouragement ("We'll come and dig you out wherever you land!") and off she goes! The balloon gains altitude at six metres a second.

It travels at the speed of wind, in this instance about 12 knots and due south towards the Alps. It is a delightful sensation gliding noiselessly along, and because the balloon is powered by the wind the wind itself is not felt.

The only disturbance is the noise of the burners as they reheat the gas in the balloon at regular intervals. The balloon travels effortlessly at a height of 100 or 200 metres.

At this height fields and trees, houses and cars glide serenely by at what seems to be little more than arm's length away. People gaze up at the balloon and its crew, waving gaily.

Children grab their pushbikes and try to keep pace with the balloon. So does the motorised pursuit group, the ground crew, as it were.

The ground crew maintains non-stop radio contact with the three men in the balloon. Usually they can see each other all the time.

The pursuit vehicle has spare gas cylinders on board. Hot air may be more mobile than gas-only, but range is limited by the heating capacity of the gas cylinders.

After a couple of hours or so the balloon has to come down to refuel, as it were. "Turn right along the road across the field to the bridge, then turn left," the pilot wires his ground crew.

From up above you can see where you are going but cannot steer. Up or down is the only choice of direction. Otherwise it is strictly gone with the wind.

The first refuelling operation is at Hattenhofen, the second near the autobahn. The pilot gives orders to stand easy as the basket bumps down. People converge on the balloon to watch the spectacle.

Care is taken to keep the restive balloon moored in position. Farmers who are usually hopping mad when children career through the fields are delighted at the sight of a balloon.

During landing it bumps down more than once, making a deep scratch in the freshly sown field. It really is a sight for sore eyes!

But ballooning is an expensive hobby, although 98 per cent of balloons in the country are sponsored for advertising purposes.

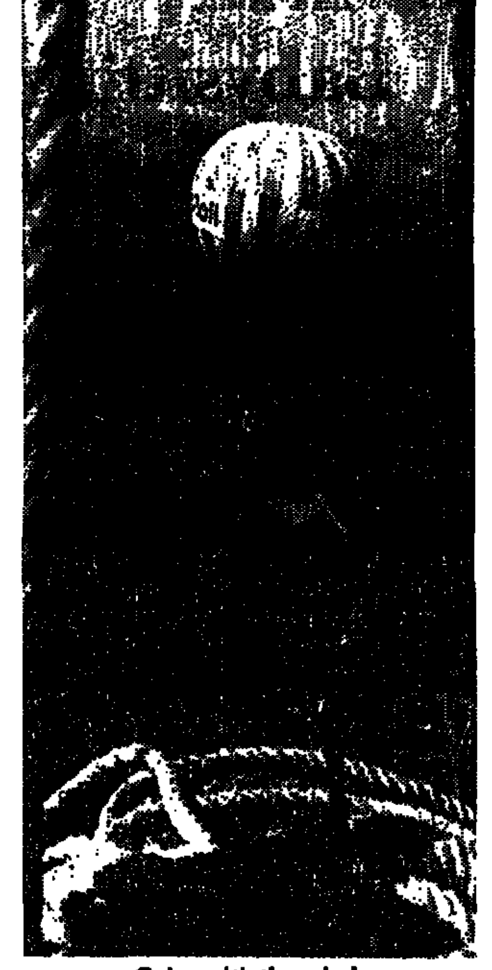
Pilot training takes two years and costs DM2,500. Club membership costs DM11 a month. An hour's flying costs DM60. If you would just like to fly as a passenger you are welcome, but it costs DM100 a time.

But ballooning is still a fine sport that fosters communal spirit. A handful of aviators need any number of supporters. There are few crashes nowadays. The sense of adventure in the past has given way to discipline and responsibility.

Another reason why there are few accidents is that ballooning is a fair-weather sport. "The weather's always good when we go ballooning," Herr Wieland explains. "When it's bad we just don't go up."

Heinz Groth

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 May 1980)



Going with the wind
(Photo: Werek)

German golf comes out of the rough

Golf is growing steadily more popular in Germany. Membership of clubs affiliated to the German Golf Association was a further 10 per cent up last year from 42,300 to 46,160.

The number of clubs was up by a mere two to 147 but the number of juniors under 21 was up from 5,965 to 6,450 and West Germany consolidated its position as Europe's No. 3 golfing nation.

Non-aficionados may be excused for failing to understand what people see in golf, but there is a grain of truth in the apocryphal story of an English GP and golf buff.

Accused of neglecting his practice and spending too much time at the golf course, he is reputed to have replied: "Too bad, I really did enjoy being a doctor."

Or maybe he was a Scot. Golf is first mentioned in the annals of the Scottish Parliament in 1457 when James I banned the game (soccer too, as it happens).

He ruled that Scottish soldiers were not to play golf because golfers tended to neglect marksmanship practice (with bow and arrows!).

Nearly 500 years later Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish philosopher, was to write: "Golf is more than a game. It is more than a sport for the few too."

Paula Stuck, the former tennis star and writer, also sounded a warning note. "Golf," she wrote, "is a bacillus, an incurable disease. Get-well wishes are a waste of time."

The keen golfer is busy on the course all the year round! In winter he avoids both the close season in colder climates and the cold season itself by taking a golfing holiday in sunny Spain or Portugal, or even the United States or the Caribbean.

Golf is the world's No. 3 sport in numerical popularity. Its 30 million players are substantially fewer than the 68 million volleyball and 65 million basketball aficionados but more than the 28 million soccer players.

Now you wouldn't have believed that, would you? Even in Russia the first golf course is under construction, near Moscow. It is a gift to the Soviet Union from US industrialists.

Worldwide West Germany ranks ninth out of 60 golfing countries. First comes the United States with 15 million golfers and 12,500 golf courses, then Japan with 10 million and 980.

Then come Canada (1.75m, 1,150), Britain (1.5m, 2,300), Australia (800,000, 1,235), New Zealand (120,000, 390), Sweden (80,000, 145) and South Africa (60,000, 450).

Germany (46,160, 150) is a little ahead of neighbouring France (40,000, 142). The number of courses, 150, is not a deliberate mistake; four German clubs boast two courses each.

Düsseldorf and Timmendorfer Strand, the Baltic holiday resort, each boast 36-hole courses. An 18-hole course may be denoted a midi-course, since it consists only of three- and four-shot par holes, and no fives.

There can be no gainsaying that golf is good for your health. Not for nothing does club membership include a substantial number of doctors.

There cannot be a sport to rival it in keeping the body engaged in lifelong exercise out in the open, come hail or high water.

Golfers stroll miles round soft grass courses, heath and woodland. Golf can be a lifetime preoccupation and an ideal sport for the entire family.

The age range of playing members is wider than in almost any other sport you care to name. Six- to 10-year-old children have been known to take up golf; they can carry on playing until a ripe old age.

The aim of the game is to hit a ball the size of a ping-pong ball (but weighing a fraction over an ounce and a half) into a hole the size of a tin can.

This must be done in as few shots as possible with up to 14 clubs over an 18hole course that requires at least 125 acres of open country.

Each hole consists of the tee, the fairway and the green. The green is a particularly well-groomed piece of turf that boasts the hole, which is a little over four inches in diameter and has a marker flag that is taken out before the final shots are taken.

The fairway is lined by the rough, in which unkempt grass, trees, bushes, streams, rivers and lakes may present natural obstacles.

But if there are none of these, bunkers or artificial chicanes are provided to make the game more difficult. Holes are between 100 and 550 metres long and 20 to 60 metres wide.

If there is only a nine-hole course you have to go round it twice. A round is 18 holes, an arbitrary number laid down by rules originating at the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrew's on the east coast of Scotland.

The Royal and Ancient dates back to 1754 and it had a nine-hole course, so players went out and played their way back, making 18 holes in all.

Golf is an expensive hobby in Germany, or so it is said. But it is no more expensive than a number of others, and

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